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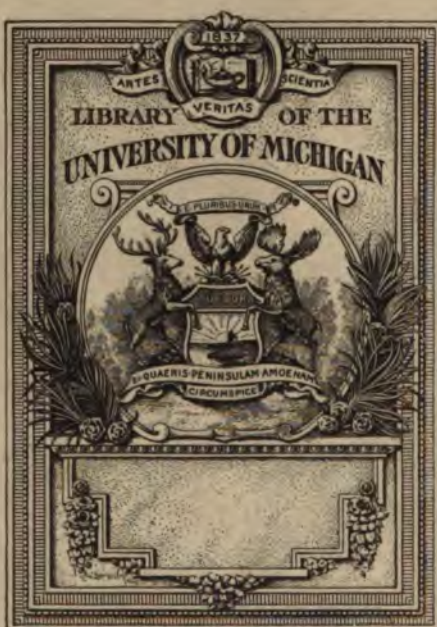
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PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
SOUTHERN HISTORY ASSOCIATION.

VOL. VIII.

JANUARY, 1903.

No. 1.

PIONEER MUNICIPALITIES IN TEXAS REVOLU-
TION.—MINA¹ AND SAN FELIPE.—DOCU-
MENTS, 1835.

MINA MEETING.²

[According to Yoakum and Brown, historians of Texas, the independent organization of that department started with the local Committee of Safety. To Mina belongs the honor of the appointment of the first one, on May 8, 1835, at a meeting of the citizens, to be followed by another on the 17th of same month, which added two members to the original number, raising it to five in all. On this latter date, Gonzales and Viesca, municipalities, also chose committees, but there had been, so far as known, no "consultation" among these three, action in each case being "spontaneous." Unfortunately the Association has no document on any of these four assemblies, but the later ones, giving something of the spirit of this fore-runner for the freedom of Texas, seem worthy of publication.

San Felipe, while not entering the field of agitation as early as Mina, was more prominent after the upheaval began. Perhaps, by reason of its central position and by reason of Austin's efforts there, it became one of the leaders, adding great momentum to the cause.

Although some of the following documents have already made their appearance in print, it was in a newspaper, not readily accessi-

¹ Mina, an important frontier point at the time, on the Colorado, 100 miles from Matagorda; it is now known as Bastrop, though there is a Mina postoffice. San Felipe, also one of the larger settlements, was on the Brazos 70 miles above Columbia, near centre of the State.

² From Sp. Ms., Bexar Archives.

ble, and hence they are deemed worthy of a reissue, especially when taken in connection with the other unpublished ones.

The Association is indebted to Mr. E. C. Barker, Austin, Tex., for this material.]

MINA, July 1, 1835.

In a meeting of the committee of safety for the municipality of Mina, held July 1st, 1835, it was

Resolved, That since the citizens are very much disturbed by current rumors of invasion; as much from Mexicans as from Indians, being excited and confused by contradictory news and vague stories of indefinite and uncertain dangers, and fearing that sinister measures have been taken by wicked men and individuals that are among us to draw Texas into unnecessary discord with the government of the union, we believe that only truth can direct our resolution and operations by the path of prudence and honor, and that our fellow-citizen T. J. Chambers, who, it seems, has not identified himself with any party, may inform the people of the true state of the parties. We hope confidently that he will speak with pleasure upon his feelings concerning the causes of our difficulties, contributing whatever he can for our welfare and that of all Texas by placing under his true point of view the state of things that have been presented to us under so confused and alarming an aspect. For this reason Attorney J. W. Bunton, secretary of this committee, will present himself to the said citizen Chambers, offering him the respects of this committee, and inviting him in its name to pass through this town on his way home to confer for a few hours with this committee on the subjects indicated in this resolution.

And the citizen Chambers will be present with a copy of this resolution, signed by the President.

By order of D. C. Barrett, President.

BUNTON TO CHAMBERS.³

GONZALES, July 4, 1835.

To Judge T. J. Chambers.

MY DEAR SIR: The committee of safety of the Jurisdiction of Mina, having ordered me to hand to you the enclosed resolution offering you the respect of the committee, and inviting you to stop in Bastrop on your journey home to confer with the committee on the subject named in the resolution, and having done me the honor to show me in this town a communication and also a letter from Mr. Smith, and having had an interview with Messrs. Gritten and Gile, who with you and Mr. Smith, have let us know the true state of our business, I have determined by the advice of Dr. Miller not to make you a visit in Bexar, as I was expecting to do, but to remit to you through the doctor the resolutions of the committee, asking you to accept it thus remitted.

Condescend to accept, honorable sir, from this town in the name of the committee to visit the committee of Bastrop on your return, with the purposes indicated in the resolution.

J. W. BUNTON.

P. S. If it be possible for you to visit the committee as they desire and expect with anxiety, let them know by a friend as soon as possible.

MINA (BASTROP) MEETING (JULY 4).⁴

On the above date, the citizens of the municipality of Mina met by agreement to consider the present situation of the relations of Texas with the Government of the Mexican United States.

Resolved, that the people have entire confidence in the Committee of Safety, and that all their acts have the full

³ From Sp. Ms., Bexar Archives.

⁴ Also found in Newell's *Hist. of Rev. in Texas*, p. 205.

approbation of this meeting; and that said committee be continued with all its power.

Resolved, That we feel an entire confidence in the constitution & laws of our adopted country, and will at all times sustain the legal authorities in the exercise of their constitutional duties.

Resolved, That Thos. J. Gazley, D. C. Barrett, and Henry P. Hill be a committee to draft a circular to the Ayuntamiento of each municipality in the Department of Brazos upon the objects contemplated by this meeting, and that the same be submitted to the Committee of Safety for their approbation.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the chairman and the secretary.

THOS. J. GAZLEY, *Chairman*,
JOHN MOODY, *Secretary*.

ADDRESS OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

GENTLEMEN: On the 4th inst. the citizens of this municipality met according to previous appointment, to consult together as to the degree of credence that they should place in the almost numberless reports that have been circulated among them, and the best method of avoiding the cloud of difficulties that seemed hanging over them.

After the maturest deliberation they came to the conclusion that there was certainly *some* reason to expect a movement of the government forces towards the colonies, and the greatest difficulty was to divine the precise object and intention of that advance.

But they are aware that it would be the blindest credulity to believe, to its full extent, the idle exaggerations that have for some time past agitated the public mind. They forbear to express any opinion whatever as to the *immediate* cause that wrought the present excitement, but deplore the evils that may result from the scisms which have taken place in

consequence; they feel, and deeply feel, the necessity that there is for the existence of some medium through which public opinion can be ascertained and wielded with effect against the irregularities of those whose disregard to the laws of the country has destroyed the mutual confidence as well as the mutual respect between them and their fellow-citizens of the Mexican Republic, inasmuch as the misconduct of a *few designing men* is attributed to the *whole* community, and construed into disaffection to the General Government.

They are by no means of opinion, while making their own feelings their standard, that the whole of Texas generally cherish a hostile disposition to Mexicans or to the Mexican Government when administered on its constitutional principles.

They are voluntarily citizens of the same republic; have sworn to support the same constitution; and are by inclination and interest, as well as the most solemn obligation, bound to cherish & sustain the liberal and free institutions of this Republic.

In the present confused state of things, they can devise no better mode of meeting the exigencies of the times than by an *assemblage of delegates from each municipality*, at San Felipe, or some other central place, whose duty it shall be to act in council for the people, and in concert with the executive power still existing in Texas, in providing for the general welfare of a misrepresented but a determined people.

To effect which object, this meeting appointed a committee of address with instructions to submit its views to the committee of safety, for revisal and approbation, and that the said committee should send a copy to the Ayuntamiento of each Municipality in the Department of Brazos, requesting their co-operation in the plan of sending delegates, as

we have before suggested, and their union in the common objects of safety and general defense of the constitutional rights.

HENRY P. HILL,
THOS. J. GAZLEY,
Committee of Address.

MINA MEETING (JULY 5).⁵

At a meeting of the committee of safety of this date, the following were among the resolutions adopted: The preceding address having been submitted, it was

Resolved, That the same receive the approbation of this committee, and be circulated according to the resolutions of the people.

At the same meeting was presented the proceedings of a public meeting, held in the Jurisdiction of Columbia, and upon reading and deliberating upon the same, this committee—

Resolved, That the committee approve the Columbia resolutions, and of the proceedings of that meeting generally—and that this resolution be appended to the circular addressed to the municipalities.

By order of the Committee.

D. C. BARRETT, *President.*

GONZALES COMMITTEE OF SAFETY TO THE MINA COMMITTEE.⁶

William J. Fisher, President of the Committee of Safety of Gonzales, writing to the Committee of Mina, July 4, 1835, says that they have received information from Mr. Gritten, who is just from Mexico, that Mexican sentiment is very friendly to Texas. He has the latest Mexican papers, and

⁵ From the *Texas Republican*, July 18, 1835.

⁶ From the *Texas Republican*, July 18, 1835.

these manifest a friendly spirit. If troops are ordered to Texas, it will be simply to crush trouble that might arise on the arrest of the land speculators.

The communication continues: "In the present attitude of affairs. . . . it appears to this committee to be a matter of vital importance that a *Convention* be immediately called. . . . The committee are of opinion that it is most expedient that the call for a convention should be made by the municipality of Mina; and it is the opinion of the committee that by dispatching runners to the different municipalities a convention might be called together in 15 or twenty days; It is also the opinion of this committee that the place appointed for the meeting of the convention should be without the bounds of the San Felipe Junto."

"ADDRESS OF R. M. WILLIAMSON, CHAIRMAN OF THE MEETING AT SAN FELIPE, JUNE 22, 1835."

To the People of Texas:

"United we stand, divided we fall."

The undersigned as Chairman of the Meeting of San Felipe, held on the 22nd ult. to consider of the situation of Texas, and the means to be adopted for the public safety, has been instructed to address you in explanation of the views of that meeting, and of the situation in which they consider the country to be now placed. For my own part, I have no desire to appear before you, expressing my individual opinions, and I speak to you not only my own sentiments and feelings, but those of a meeting respectable alike for its numbers and the individuals composing it. What I shall say, I religiously believe, and what that meeting did was induced solely from disinterested and patriotic motives. I have been your fellow-citizen for years and you cannot

¹ From a circular: Lamar Papers.

believe that I am influenced by speculation. On the honor of a man, I assure you that I have all to lose and nothing to gain by the disturbances of our country; and I am in no way connected with the speculation or the speculators. Fellow-Citizens: You are in the midst of a revolution that threatens your destruction, and without knowing it, you stand on a precipice that crumbles beneath you, and threatens to precipitate you in the abyss below. You are lulled to sleep in the belief that speculation has created the present excitement. But be entreated no longer to indulge in this dangerous belief, but to examine for yourselves the true situation of affairs. Examine for yourselves the late movements of the general government. Look into their ulterior designs as avowed by congress, & you will perceive that so far from speculation having anything to do with the present subject that the troops of the genrl. Government are on their march to Texas, for the purpose of compelling you to either leave the country or submit to an imperial government with strong military stations in your country to awe and keep you in subjection.

Your republican form of government is broken down, your state authorities have by the military been driven from the exercise of their constitutional duties, and detain in custody the Governor of your State, and of your choice. Not only in Coahuila has this arbitrary and despotic course been pursued, but other states of the federation mourn the loss of their constitutions and their liberties, and at this moment the proud and gallant & republican State of Zacatecas mourns the loss of two thousand citizens, slain in battle by the troops of Gen. Santa Anna, and the survivors now endure the galling chains of military rule. Durango and other states have fallen beneath the rule of military power, and every state and province of the Mexican Republic (excepting Texas) have submitted to the Dictator.

How this state of things came about I will endeavor faith-

fully to explain to you, and if I willfully mistake a single fact, may I forever after be branded with infamy among you. To understand you must first know that the form of Government is virtually altered, and that another form is about to be established in its stead, and at this time Gen. Santa Anna, instead of being your President, has been invested by the general congress with the absolute powers of the Dictator. Elected President by the Republican Party; he no sooner took his seat than he threw off the veil of disguise, and to the amazement and consternation of the Republican Party, he exhibited himself the friend and supporter of the aristocrats and defender of the Clergy. His first step was to call into power and place in office, the Old Aristocrats the sworn enemies of a republican form of Government, and to drive from his councils those who had elected him, and who had proven themselves the true and devoted friends of the Constitution.

Among these are the ever true and gallant and devoted Republicans, Gen. Mexia, and Governor Zavala. The party now in power is formed by the junction of the Aristocracy and Clergy with the remains of the Old Spaniards. Their policy and their interests and the accomplishment of their most ardent wishes are founded in the destruction of the Federal system. On this depends their existence as a party, the firm establishment of their power and their continuance as privileged classes in opposition to the fundamental principles of a liberal system founded on equality of rights; already has that party in congress through their committees declared: "*That the constitution requires a radical reform; that the only [clause] which remains inviolable is the one which declares for intolerance of religious feeling and established privileged classes in a State, which founds its principles on the inviolable and noble basis of equality*" and after making the declaration that the constitution should be altered, the same congress declares that "*It has the right of al-*

tering the Constitution at its pleasure without pursuing the formalities required by that instrument" and in continuance of the plan of operations General Santa Anna is invested with the powers of a Dictator and at this moment has all the power of a despot, and only now requires a diadem on his brow to obliterate the name of liberty from the Mexican code.

To all these invasions of the sovereignty of the States the people would in all probability have submitted had not the aristocracy made the last final blow at their liberties and lighted the flame of civil war; the civil Militia had at all times previously proven the sure and safe bulwark of the liberties of the people and attempt of Guerrero and Bustamante to destroy the constitution had been manfully and successfully resisted by them. Against this body the congress struck a deadly blow and passed a law disbanding them, and permitting only one gun to be retained in the hands of every five hundred men in the country, and requiring the States to surrender all the surplus arms to the general government.

To this decree many of the states submitted, but others resisted it, knowing that to deliver up their arms was to deliver themselves over to an aristocracy whose object was plainly a monarchy. Among the states resisting were Zacatecas, Durango, Chihuahua, Chiapas, and Coahuila and Texas. The Legislature of Coahuila and Texas in addressing the General Government in regard to the change of Government and creation of a Dictator, says: *For those reasons the State of Coahuila and Texas legitimately represented by its legislature, PROTEST in the most solemn manner that having confederated by virtue of the Fundamental compact, and under the basis which in it is established does not acknowledge nor will not acknowledge the measures and provisions which emanate from the General Congress, if they are not regularly in conformity with the provisions and requisites which it prescribes in said articles, nor*

will admit of any other reforms of the constitution than such as are subjected to the course which it requires," and in regard to the disbanding of the Civic Militia the same Legislature declares: "The Civic Militia in all the republic are reduced, or more properly speaking, the only bulwark of liberty, and the rights of the people are destroyed. The General Government which should put its attention to the revolutions of the South, prepares an expedition of troops against a pacific state, such as is Zacatecas, that has given so many days of glory to the Nation, by brideling arbitrary powers and abuses. The Commander General of the Internal States of the East, intervening in the interior administration of the State of Coahuila and Texas, in the most scandalous manner, even to the dictating of orders to prevent Laws made by the Legislature being complied with, moving the troops from the places which they guard on the frontier, and where they are necessary to protect the inhabitants from the barbarous Indians, and is bringing them towards this capital in order without doubt to suppress the supreme authorities. The General Government to whom this body have applied to curtail these abuses, and advances of the military authority, preserve a profound silence in this delicate affair, so that everything indicates the dangerous road we are travelling in, and which, should there not be every degree of reflection, prudence, and mildness of procedure, we shall again be involved in all the disasters of a civil war and the misfortunes consequent upon it even more afflicting and terrifying than any which have preceded."

To compell obedience and reduce these states to submission, Santa Ana on the 18th day of April last marched from the city of Mexico at the head of *six thousand men*. His first attack was on the gallant, patriotic and Republican State of Zacatecas whose citizens he defeated in battle, and making prisoner the Governor, and dispersing the congress, garrisons the whole country with strong garrisons; the same

fate is nearly sustained by Durango, and from being a free and sovereign State, she is reduced, under the power of the dictator to a military garrison. While this state of things was going on in Zacatecas and Durango, General Cos was ordered to put down the authorities of Coahuila and Texas. The Governor sent an order to all departments of the state for the Militia to turn out to sustain the authorities of the state, but not receiving sufficient aid, he attempted to escape with the public archives to Texas, in order there to re-establish the government and where he expected to be sustained by a people who have ever been free and who he confidently expected would rally to sustain the constitution they had sworn to support, and the public officers they had elected. In his flight, however, he was arrested by the Military under the order of General Cos, and has been sent a prisoner to Monterey. Not only has he been arrested, but some of the members of congress; the others having fled for safety to the mountains. The Militia of Coahuila have been disbanded and have surrendered up their arms to the Government and that whole country is now a military garrison. All the states have succumbed to the power of the military and as Texas is the only spot unconquered, Santa Ana is marching his troops here to compel a submission to the new Government. And the people have to determine whether they also will yield to the power of the Dictator. Give up their arms; suffer their country to be garrisoned with strong military posts, and live under the rule and sway of the military. They must do this or they must prepare for war; they must submit to the military government or they must defend their province and their rights with the sword and the bayonet, and they must do this without delay for the enemy is fast advancing on our country.

Fellow-Citizens, Let me again assure you that this is the true state of affairs. These the reasons that actuate the General Government. The sale of the four hundred leagues of

land has nothing to do with the subject. You are justly indignant at that sale, so also am I, so also is the meeting which I represent; but that can and ought to have no weight with the public mind at this time. It is too inconsiderable to be noticed when compared to the importance of our country, our property, our liberty and our lives; which are involved in the present contest between the states and the military. Two spies from Colonel Ugartechea, stationed at San Antonio were arrested at San Felipe, and in their possession the official correspondence of Ugartechea and General Cos was found. General Cos writes to the commandant at Anahuac that the two companies of New Leon, and the Morales Battalion would sail immediately for Texas and that they would be followed by another strong force, which he had solicited the government for, and which he had no doubt would be obtained. Col. Ugartechea says that the business of Texas will be soon regulated, as the government has ordered a large division composed of the troops that were sent against Zacatecas, to Texas and which are now at Saltillo; that force is three thousand four hundred men.

For what Fellow-Citizens, are they coming, in the name of GOD say not speculation; they are coming to compell you into obedience to the new form of Government; to compell you to give up your arms; to compell you to have your country garrisoned; to compell you to liberate your slaves; to compell you to swear to support and sustain the government of the Dictator; to compell you to submit to the imperial rule of the aristocracy, to pay tithes and adoration to the clergy. For these purposes, Fellow-Citizens, they are coming, and for this purpose a party of soldiers, it is said, have already landed at Copano. Under the excitement created by all this information, many of the people of the jurisdiction of Austin, during court week, assembled to consider of the condition of the country, and of the adoption of means for its protection. A declaration to support the General and

State constitutions and the officers of the state was unanimously agreed to, and so it was resolved to release the governor and drive the military from San Antonio.

Much pains has been taken to persuade you that this meeting was gotten up by Speculators, and that no necessity existed for it. But, Fellow Citizens, believe no such slanders, pay regard to no such falsehoods. At the first meeting held in which it was resolved that the country was in danger and that the Governor should be released, James B. Miller, the Political Chief was Chairman; and in his official character, he called on the people of his department to turn out for that purpose. At the second meeting were many of your oldest fellow citizens, who can have no views of speculation but who all unanimously, upon investigation, declared the country was in danger and that no time should be lost in preparing for war; the Alcade and Ayuntamiento of Austin were of the same opinion, and ordered a turn out of the people to protect the country. There were at the meeting many persons from the jurisdictions of Mina and Matagorda, all of whom believed that no time was to be lost in preparing for war. The meeting at San Felipe had no desire to dictate to the balance of the community or to involve it in war; the only reason why the meeting at San Felipe first acted was because at that place the news of danger was first received and the danger appeared too imminent to admit of delay. Every matter of importance has to be brought about by the action of a few. The whole people never have moved at once in a body. It is only by meetings in different places that the sense of the country can be ascertained. The meeting at San Felipe commenced the matter, and I hope that meetings will be held in every part of the province, to determine what shall be done. But that meeting resolved that San Antonio should be taken, and for these reasons: They considered that the Question of war was settled. That forces were coming against Texas and in a very short time

all Texas would have to turn out and fight; that opinion we still entertain, and still think that San Antonio should be taken. The citizens of that place have at this time the messenger among us requesting our assistance to drive the military from that place in order that they may unite with us in the common cause of protecting the country. By taking that place we would procure one hundred and sixty stands of muskets, many cannon and much ammunition, and also about eight hundred head of horses, belonging to the government and which we indispensibly require for the protection of the country. But, fellow citizens of Texas, other weighty and important reasons exist why that place should be taken; should you permit San Antonio to remain in the hands of the enemy your country is lost. Five hundred troops can so fortify San Antonio as to resist the united attack of all Texas. In that situation they have only to send out their parties of men and harass and destroy the country, without ever coming to a pitched battle; they will so annoy and harrass the country by continual depredations and alarms that wearied out, dispirited, and disheartened, the people will gladly retreat beyond the Sabine. When you least expect it they will descend upon you and call you from your fields to Battle and before you can rally, they will kill and burn and destroy. In the depths of winter they will call you by their depredations to the field, and a thousand attacks and a thousand false alarms will destroy your patience and your property and make your country not worth contending for. But if possible even worse than all this, you permit an enemy to be there stationed that will send the Indians continually upon you.

Inhabitants of the Frontier: Your situation will be deplorable; instigated and protected by the Mexicans, the Indians will be your constant enemies; they will be the continued ravagers of your country and destroyers of yourselves. If you drive them from your neighborhood, they will seek

refuge and protection under the troops of San Antonio, and will retire only to return with renewed violence and destruction. You will hear around your habitations the Indian yell mingling with the Mexican cry, and the shrieking of your murdered wives rousing the slumbers of the cradle from the midst of your burning dwellings will tell you, when too late of the error to your policy in permitting San Antonio to be garrisoned by Mexican troops. Fellow Citizens, depend upon it your policy is wrong and the danger great. If you would save the country and protect the frontier, San Antonio must be taken; already has Anahuac fallen; already has the spies of the country been arrested and the correspondence examined; already have you proceeded too far to retreat; already are the troops of the Dictator on the march against you, and you have to fight, surrender, or run away. There will be no necessity for your garrisoning San Antonio, once drive off the military, and the inhabitants of that place will protect and defend the place. The Mexican inhabitants are a force sufficiently effective for this purpose, but permit the reinforcements to arrive there, and the citizens will be disarmed and you will lose the co-operation and assistance of that whole department.

Fellow Citizens, by taking San Antonio you will also secure the person of Don Ramon Musquiz the Vice Governor, he has expressed his willingness to act provided the Colonists will sustain him, but he dares not attempt it so long as San Antonio is in the possession of the enemy. What can you do, or will you do, unless you bring him into the colonies and re-establish the government. At this time your Courts of Justice are closed, you have no head to direct you, and you are in a state of anarchy and confusion. You can only remedy this by securing the Vice Governor and re-establishing the Government. Unless you do this in less than one month everything will be in disorder and you will

have no security for your persons and property, except the strength of your arms.

Three-fourths of the people are new comers and have as yet received no titles to their lands, the last legislature passed a law decreeing that every person in Texas should receive their land, but before the commissioners were appointed the Governor was arrested.

In what manner are these citizens to get the titles to their lands. The intention and policy of the present ruling authorities of the nation is to destroy the system of colonization and so soon as the military become possessed of Texas that soon will the last league of land be given to North Americans, instead of receiving the titles they will be declared foreigners and driven from the land; there is but one possible way of avoiding this result and that is by taking St. Antonio, bringing the Vice Governor here in order that Commissioners may be appointed to put the people in possession of their lands.

Citizens of Texas, you who have not yet received your titles must be up and doing; the taking of St. Antonio is important to you inasmuch as no governor can be had until it is taken, and until you have a Governor you can obtain no land; and depend upon it if you would secure your land, you must do it ere the military become masters of the country.

Fellow Citizens of Texas, our interests are common, and no possible reason can exist for a difference of opinion. We may differ as to the mode to be pursued but one sentiment can pervade every breast; which is the safety and protection of our country. Let us by all means harmonize and act in concert, for it is only in union that we are strong, only united can we succeed. Let us no longer sleep in our posts, let us resolve to prepare for War; and resolve to defend our country against the danger that threatens it. A sacrifice has to be made. Let us sacrifice a portion at once. In order

to secure the remainder. Already we can almost hear the bugles of our enemies; already have some of them landed on our coast; and you must prepare to fight. Liberty or Death should be our determination and let us one and all unite to protect our country from all invasion, and not lay down our arms so long as a soldier is seen in our limits.

R. M. WILLIAMSON.

SAN FELIPE, *July 4th 1835.*

F. C. Gray, Printer, Brazoria.

SAN FELIPE MEETING (*July 14*).

At a large and respectable meeting of the citizens of the Jurisdiction in the town of San Felipe on the 14th inst. pursuant to a call of the Political Chief

Major Jesse Bartlett was called to the chair, and Thomas R. Jackson elected Secretary.

A committee of five persons were chosen to draft resolutions to be submitted to the meeting; namely; Martin Allen, J. Urban, J. R. Jones, Joshua Fletcher, and C. B. Stewart
.....

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

1. *Resolved*, that this meeting view with the deepest regret the excitement which it is believed has been precipitately produced in these colonies, and that the meeting disapprobates all hostile proceedings which may have been made for offensive operations against the government.

2. *Resolved*, that this meeting earnestly desire peace and tranquility, and that it recommend to the people a quiet submission to the constitution, laws, and proper authorities of the country.

3. *Resolved*, that owing to the alarming situation of the colonies, it is necessary that the colonists organize and be prepared for defensive operations.

3 [4]. *Resolved*, that this meeting recommend unanimity

and concert of action to their fellow-citizens on this highly important occasion.

5. *Resolved*, that the affairs of Texas has approached a crisis which requires a consultation of all her citizens in their respective capacity and that we therefore recommend a meeting of the same in General Council.

6. *Resolved*, that a committee of 3 be elected to confer with the committee from Columbia & other committees with full power to call a meeting of all the citizens of Texas in representative capacity in general council, and to adopt such other measures as they deem best calculated to promote the general interest of Texas.

7. *Resolved*, that we concur heartily in unanimity of purpose & feeling with the resolutions of the meeting of the Jurisdiction of Columbia, and that we invite the citizens of the other Jurisdictions of this department to concur with us in the adoption of measures tending to the same end.

In conformity with the sixth resolution, J. R. Jones, J. W. Kinney, and A. Somerville were elected to compose that committee.

JESSE BARTLETT, *Chairman*,
T. R. JACKSON, *Secretary*.

SAN FELIPE, DE AUSTIN, *July 14, 1835.*

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE SAN FELIPE COMMITTEE.⁸

COMMITTEE ROOM, SAN FELIPE, *Sept. 13th, 1835.*

The undersigned, a Committee of correspondence and vigilance, appointed by a very large and general Meeting of the citizens of the Jurisdiction of Austin, convened at this place on the 12th inst., have the honor to transmit to you, in pursuance of the duties assigned them, a copy of the resolutions adopted by said meeting, in order that you will lay

⁸ From *The Texas Republican*, September 19, 1835.

them before the people of that section of the country, and solicit their co-operation.

This Committee deem it entirely unnecessary to enter into a long statement of facts to show why a general consultation of all Texas is indispensable, for the reason that the present crisis is so evident and alarming, that no one appears to doubt it.

This necessity seems to be so evident and pressing, that a general consultation of Texas, with full and unlimited power to organize a local Government under the constitution of 1824, has been advocated by many instead of a consultation. But it is considered that this is a step that cannot safely be adopted with any certainty of unanimity by any district or Municipality.

Such a measure and the necessary rules and regulations for directing elections and apportioning the representation equally, according to the population. The place where, and the time when the convention ought to meet; and other important details can only be determined by all Texas met in general consultation. The measures which may be adopted by such General Consultation will carry with them the weight of being the *voice* of all Texas instead of the *opinion* of a few. They will be the result of calm discussion and of a full and mature deliberation and examination into the true situation of the country, and cannot fail to produce unanimity at home, respect and confidence abroad.

This Committee deem it to be important that the just and legal rights of the civilized Indians should be protected, but not having any certain information on the subject, they can only recommend it to your consideration.

Some diversity of opinion has existed as to the place where the proposed consultation should meet. This place and Washington have been proposed. The meeting of yesterday have preferred this place for the reason that there is a printing press here. The most important public records

are here, and the principal political authority of the department resides here. This question will of course be decided by the wishes of the majority, for which reason it is important that you will communicate to this Committee what are the wishes of the people of that section on this point.

This Committee must beg of you to communicate without delay with the people of Red River, in Pecan Point country, and request them to send members to the proposed General Consultation. They are in Texas and their interests and rights are identified with those of all Texas.

This committee in conclusion recommend that the delegation from each district, bring with them an exact census of the population, and return of the Militia from their districts to lay before the General Consultation.

Very respectfully,
[Signature clipped off].

MEETING AT SAN FELIPE.*

In pursuance of previous public notice, a large and highly respectable meeting of the citizens of the Jurisdiction of Austin convened at Johnson & Winburn's tavern, in San Felipe, on the 12th inst., when Col. Stephen F. Austin was elected Chairman, and Patrick C. Jack appointed Secretary.

The Chairman then explained the object of the meeting, and read several official communications from Col. Domingo de Ugartechea, and from Col. Martin Perfecto de Cos. He then at large expressed his views of the Political state of the Republic of Mexico, of the present situation of Texas, and of the course which it should pursue under the pressing emergencies of the times, and concluded by urging the absolute necessity of a Consultation of all Texas, by means of delegates elected by the people.

After which Capt. Randel Jones introduced the following

* From *The Texas Republican*, September 19, 1835.

resolutions, which upon motion of Capt. Wyly Martin were read separately and upon being submitted to the meeting were unanimously adopted.

Resolved, 1st. That we will support the constitution of the Mexican Republic of 1824, to which we have solemnly obligated ourselves.

Resolved, 2nd. That we recommend a consultation chosen by the people.

Resolved, 3rd. That we recommend each Jurisdiction to elect five members to meet in San Felipe on the 15th of October next.

Resolved, 4th. That a committee of vigilance and safety for the Jurisdiction of Austin, be appointed to order and superintend the election for delegates of this Jurisdiction, and to correspond with the committees of the other Jurisdictions.

Resolved, 5th. That the Ayuntamiento of Austin be requested to correspond with those parts of Texas which may have addressed it on the subject of a consultation of Texas.

In pursuance of the 4th resolution the meeting then proceeded to the election of members of the committee of Vigilance and Safety. Whereupon Capt. Wiley Martin, Colonel William Pettus, Gail Borden, Jr., John H. Money, Randel Jones, and Stephen F. Austin were unanimously elected.

Resolved, that the proceedings of this meeting be sent to the press at Brazoria, for publication, and to the other Jurisdictions of Texas.

On motion, W. B. Travis, Esq. it was

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be voted to the Chairman and Secretary.

And then the meeting adjourned.

S. F. AUSTIN, *Chairman*.

PATRICK C. JACK, *Secretary*.

A SOUTHERN TRAVELER'S DIARY, 1840.

BY WILLIAM H. WILLS.

(Continued.)

HABIT OF SWEARING.

The company on our boat was agreeable and so far am very much pleased with the western people. but for the profane and seemingly thoughtless habit of swearing their conduct was very correct. On the boat I met Mr. Corprew [?] formerly of Halifax returning to Miss. with his wife having

WHEELING TO CINCINNATI.

recently married in Virginia. We left Wheeling at 3½ p. m. Monday and by six o'clock Wednesday morning the 8th we were in Cincinnati.

Finding the Pensacola intended going on [to] Louisville I took passage on her again for the latter place and hence did not remove my baggage. I had attempted to write while coming down but found the influence of the high pressure engines made the boat shake so badly that I had to abandon it.* So directly after breakfast I set down to write to my dear precious wife. This pleasing duty performed I took my letter and depositing it in the P. O. took a stroll to view the city. It reminds me very much of Balt. being built on a hill

CINCINNATI, COVINGTON, NEWPORT.

and kept clean and neat. Some of the residences are very handsome and here I found the first signs of life in nature in the West. Among other places I visited the Market, the beef

*The first six lines of this journal are in ink, in a trembling, uncertain hand, evidently written on the boat. The rest is in pencil, probably written afterwards.

was very fine and a motley group were here, Germans, Dutch, Irish, Americans, pigs squealing, calves bleating, horses neighing, chickens, eggs, hogs, lambs. Cincinnati is a thrifty and constantly improving place of 40,000 inhabitants and about 30 Churches which tells well for the morals of the city, being a little over 1,300 to every church. Opposite Cincinnati stands Covington and Newport on the Ky. shore which are considerable manufacturing places of from 2,000 to 3,000 inhabitants each.

THE BEAUTIFUL OHIO.

At 12½ p. m. ding, dong, dell—and again we are off on the now becoming lovely Ohio.—Having heard two or three interpretations to the name of this river and State and made some enquiries relative to its origin—The French used to call it (“La belle”) “O! how beautiful”—but the tradition runs that ere it rec’d its name an Indian was chased by a party of another tribe and running fast he came suddenly upon the banks of this stream, and not before being aware of its existence he stopped, and throwing up his head in true Indian style, and exclaimed in his own guttural tone; “uh-heigh-ho”—hence the name Ohio—The name of the state of course is taken from that of the river—Fifteen miles below Cincinnati we came to the North bend, now celebrated as the residence of Genl Harrison, beside his own are a few

HARRISON’S LOG CABIN.

other dwellings & is indeed a pretty spot—It is high & yet not mountainous, rather undulating for perhaps a mile & ½ & then comes the high hills.—Genl H! dwelling is 1½ story or 2 story building with a wing on each hand, and it is said that the centre building is composed of logs, hence the cognomen by which he is known, the “log Cabin Candidate.” I find the people through all this country most enthusiastic in his favour and “Harrison & hard Cider”—is all the go. If

there are any Van Buren men they hardly dare to make themselves heard. About 20 ms. below Cincin. commences

SOME INDIANA TOWNS.

the coast of Indiana along which are a great many farms, Villages and Towns, but I saw but one or two of the latter that seemed to be in a flourishing Condition. Madison abo 90 ms. from Cin—being one and New Albany some 45 ms. further being another and perhaps I might add Evansville 175 ms. further the first of these looks very flourishing with 1500 inhabs & the second as many or more and is quite a manufacturing & steam boat building place.—

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY.

Thursday 9. In the morning I found myself at Louisville Ky.—having arrd there some part of the night previous.—Louisville is a place of considerable trade but probably has not improved much of late years. They have recently had an extensive fire there which has done them material injury having destroyed some of their best buildings—The Town Contains about 14,000 inhabitants and has been a place of great trade in peltries.—I had not much opportunity of seeing the places.—After breakfast I began to look

MISSISSIPPI BOATS; 300 OF THEM.

around among the numerous Steam Boats lying at the wharf for one to take me to Vicksburg. There were but three that were advertised for N. Orleans, one of them had not arr'd and the others was lying 3 ms. below town, the 3rd was a very neat, trim boat called the "Buckeye"—I went on board her and found the Capt. Thompson a very clever & gentlemanly man. On enquiry from others she was recommended as a strong and fast running boat, but was informed at the same time that she had once blown up.—This rather deterred me, but on reflection came to the conclusion that she was

probably not the less safe in consequence, holding the old adage true in regard to her, that a "burnt child dreads the fire,"—and having once experienced such a disaster her officers would be the more careful, especially as the same Capt. was on her. This disaster occurred sometime last year, the engineer having gone to sleep, and five persons (hands) were destroyed, the Capt. was blown high in air and thrown on the bank of the river and yet—tho somewhat hurt was not killed—In regard to *safety* of the boats on the western waters I have come to the conclusion that all are equally safe that are sound and in good order, and all equally unsafe and dangerous, reasoning thus: When a boat gets out alone she will generally be careful and safe, but if two or more start together the excitement is apt to produce a spirit of emulation, and hence they put more steam than their engines or prudence would authorise. And when we consider the vast number of boats (abt 300) plying on the Ohio & Miss: waters we are rather surprised that more casualties do not occur. They are probably becoming more and more careful every day as the feelings of the community are aroused against them. On the Buck Eye then at 10 o'clock we left

ON TO THE MOUTH OF THE OHIO.

Louisville with 12 to 15 Passengers. Two miles below L. are the "falls"—which in low water are impassible and boats go through the canal cut around them. The water was high enough for us to go over and a splendid sight to see the boat buffeting the waves tumbling over an immense reef of rocks. Below the falls we were detained by freight &c 4 hours and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 got well under weigh—250 miles from Louisville brought us to the mouth of the Wabash River about 4 p. m. o'clock on Friday dividing Indiana from Illinois on the right, old Kaintuck still holding on to the left.—The country now begins to assume a different appearance presenting a low flat, marshy soil which is continued for some miles back

into the interior.—Illinois has not a single Town on the coast of any importance either as to size or thrift Shawneetown abt. 12 ms. below the Wabash is an old and improved [sic] place. Some miles below here the Cumberland & Tennessee Rivers flow into the Ohio from the South these rivers we passed in the night.

CAIRO, ILLINOIS.

Saturday 11th—about 8 o'clock a. m. we came in sight of the junction of the Ohio & Miss: rivers. On the Illinois shore, in the point they are attempting to build a *City* under the name of Cairo. They have two or three good brick buildings a few wooden framed ones and a quantity of Cabins. The ground is so low however that they have thrown up mounds on which some of the houses are built, and the whole place is overflowed by both rivers in high water. Pretty place truly for a Town! O speculation like bigotry thou hast no heart with which to feel for another's woes. At this place our boat rounded too to put out a mail and take in some freight and about 9 o'clock we entered in full sweep the noble Mississippi. Appropriate indeed is the

THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

name (literally Father of Waters)—for rising in the rocky mountains far beyond all others, it makes every stream in the west its tributary and finally empties itself by an hundred mouths into the Gulf of Mexico.—At the junction, I do not think the Miss. more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile wide which gradually widens.—There is a peculiarity attendant upon the river owing to the impetuosity of the current and the nature of the soil along its banks, the ground is continually giving way and breaking off from the main land sinks into the river. Often large quantities of land are undermined in this way containing trees of enormous growth, these embedding themselves in the river form the snags and sawyers so dangerous

to navigation in this river. Snags are trees that fall in this tree [sic] and these remain permanently fixed, while sawyers are trees whose roots become embedded and their branches rise and fall with the current, hence called saw-

NEW MADRID AND ABOUT.

yers.—Some 75 miles below the junction brought us to New Madrid on the Missouri shore. The boat having freight to put out there I went on shore and found five or six stores and a number of people soon collected at the river.—I entered into conversation with one who informed that he lived 3 or 4 miles in the interior, had 8 children, had been living there 10 yrs and never lost one. He likewise informed me that within the time he had known the river it had made an encroachment by undermining the banks an hundred yards, and that 30 feet of this had been done the present spring—New Madrid is a poor dirty looking place, wet and subject much of it to overflow, indeed this is a characteristic of the country bordering all along on the Miss—there are a good many huts and small farms along the coast nevertheless, but the principal improvements I learn are in the interior.—It is now Saturday night and have just written up

STEADY BOAT.

my journal at 9 o'clock. Our boat is steadily dashing away among the proud waves of the father of waters where the river is now 3 miles wide (abt. 120 ms. from the junction) I like my present boat much better than the Pensacola, only because however she is much more steady and permits me to read and write with great facility.—

TRUST IN THE LORD.

I now for the present lay aside my journal, and expecting soon to turn into my room, must commit myself to the care of Him who made me and the waters also. Yes it is the

Lord Jehovah that set the everlasting hills and gave the waters their commands. It is Him who once said "*be still*" and they obeyed His voice; it is Him who has also said that he would be around about his people from henceforth and forever more, and it is to Him that I confidently commit myself, my all.—Father of mercies let thy protecting arm be around me this night, be with my dear family far from me to-night! be with me in my wanderings, and bring us together again in safety and in peace. And O! when the tempests of life are all over bring us to the haven of eternal repose above. Amen.—

WEATHER ON RIVER.

Sunday 12th—on Friday night we had a hard wind and some rain which induced our boat to lay by perhaps two hours. Yesterday was nearly fair, but cool and last night a nother severe storm of wind, rain and lightning—this morning were a few light clouds passing, but in the course of the day all passed away, and left the sky very clear. Still it is cold, quite cold, even I think it would be for No. Ca. fires are kept up nearly all day, and I cannot remain on deck as much as I would wish. About 10 o'clock a. m. brought us

. MEMPHIS, HELENA.

to Memphis, in the extreme corner of Tennessee, from an imperfect view of the place, it appears to be pleasantly situated on a tolerably high bluff, commencing about 150 yds from the river. I could not learn its population or much else in relation to it.—Between 5 and 6 p. m. our boat rounded to & stopt at Helena in Arkansas. I gladly availed myself of the privilege of going on shore to learn a little of the country. Helena is by far the handsomest and pleases me most of any place I have yet seen on the Miss: there is a gently rising ground from the river for 300 yds and then and abrupt bluff of perhaps an hundred feet high running

parallel with the river for several hundred yards. between this bluff & the river the Town is situated. There are probably 40 or 50 houses most of them small but painted and neatness characterises the place. there are some 400 inhabitants. I entered into a conversation with a gentleman who stated to me that he was a Virginian born & raised near Petersburg, that he had been living in the immediate vicinity of Helena 14 yrs had a family of several children, and had had no sickness of moment among any of them within that time. I was particularly struck with the appearance of the citizens nearly all of whom were healthy & fine looking persons. here we rec'd three passengers, one of them the handsomest lady I have seen West or South. I had not

OLD ACQUAINTANCES.

been on shore many minutes before a young man came up, and interrupting my conversation with the Virginian, "seem like" says he to me "I ought to know you"—"very likely" I replied "for I find acquaintances everywhere." "Ain't your name Wills?" said he—"Yes"—"My name is Dowten"—and sure enough he was an old acquaintance from No. Ca. Soon after stopping in Cincinnati, I accosted a man to make some inquiries in regard to a boat, & soon after he asked me if I was not a preacher? I replied in the affirmative, & he then said he knew me and had heard me preach. I could [not] recognize him nor was his name familiar to me, but I had no reason to doubt his word. If I wanted to run away I scarcely know what course I should bend my steps for every once in a while recognition takes place.

MIASMA.

Helena, like almost all other places on the Miss.—is located on low ground rather than on the bluffs and I have an universal reason given me, that the miasma arising in the fall from the water, ascends higher than the ground contiguous

to the river and falls upon the more elevated points, hence the latter are always considered more sickly than the former. I have already alluded to the peculiarity of the Miss.

RIVER ENCROACHMENTS; BENDS.

in making encroachments upon the land. One of the effects of this is to alter the current of the river and thereby form numerous islands, and there is almost a continuous succession of them from the Mouth of the Ohio as far as I have yet gone. Some of these islands are considerably inhabited and are very large. Wherever it encroaches on one side it fills up on the other, and the pilot of our boat pointed me to land $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from shore, along which the main Current once ran and over which he has navigated a boat—These changes make numerous bends in the river, some of them very long. A few miles below Helena is what is called Horse-shoe bend, which is ten miles long and yet the distance across the point is but little more than 300 yards!—One or two others are said to be larger than this.—A little

PELICANS; DUCKS; ARKANSAS SHORE.

before night I saw a very large flock of Pelicans in the river not far from us. They were all white and was really an interesting sight—Wild ducks are also very numerous in the Ohio & Miss rivers.—The Arkansas shore is better improved, & better dwellings on it than the Mississippi, at least thus far.

WEATHER; SCENERY; LEVEEING.

Monday 13th—This morning is clear and serene, but still very cold I think for the season & this climate—I had almost expected Summer and yet we are hardly clear of winter. The trees however are very well clothed with verdure and the grass is springing up handsomely, the prospect is becoming more interesting and some of the islands

are beautiful the farther we go down, the lower the Country becomes and in many places the water is level with the bank, indeed in some places the former is higher than the land itself, and hence the system of Leveeing or embanking is extensively pursued from the Louisiana line down to New Orleans.—To-day I have passed many fine farms, the cotton is growing prettily and the corn from 6 inches to knee high—No villages of notice passed to-day except Princeton, Miss.—I find the mosquitoes very plenty wherever we have stopped to-day.—

VICKSBURG; FINANCES; WATER CRAFT.

Tuesday 14th.—Safely and securely I was landed at Vicksburg last night at 12 o'clock precisely, and by a little after one I was in Bed at Childers Hotel. We have either a very great change in the weather, or because I am in a more southern latitude. I presume both, to-day it is as warm as ever have it in No. Ca. during any time in May. I have just come in from walking, and after resting a little, have thrown off my coat & set down to my journal, handk'f in hand to wipe the perspiration.—I stopt to-day here to make my future arrangements, and to wash up a little.—I have taken a good view of the Town particularly from the Cupola of the Court house. At the river commences an ascent which runs back for perhaps a mile and an half. The highest point is probably 200 feet above the surface of the river. On this ascent Vicksburg is built, and is really a handsome and romantic situation. I had scarcely supposed that there was such a spot in Miss.—The place contains between 4 & 5000 inhabitants and I should think well located for business. At this time however the south and more particularly Miss. is in an awful condition in relation to money matters.—Notwithstanding this there are numerous arrivals and departures of Steam Boats, and from my window having a good view of the harbor I have witnessed

perhaps a dozen that have gone & come in to-day. On the Miss. & Ohio they have a kind of flat boat, somewhat like the boats on Tar river only covered. I saw hundreds of these floating down, & and these and steam boats are the only species of Craft used on these streams. It is the united testimony of all whom I have heard speak of it that Vicksburg is one of the healthiest Towns on the river, and perhaps in the Southern Country. The streets & many of the private lots are very filthy. If attention was paid to this matter I should be of the same opinion as far as my observation has gone, and should really be very much pleased with the place. The trees have their foliage pretty well grown, the gardens look beautiful and vegetables are plenty, at least some of them. They have peas I understand, but have not seen any myself.—Some of the private residences are handsomely and tastefully decorated with trees and flowers. . Roses and Multiflora are in their glory and ladies walking the streets having summer dresses on. I think we may expect rain soon.—

One objection (among others) to Vicksburg is the tendency of the earth to wash, Hence numerous gullies are cut by the heavy rains which often fall in the South. I observed some of the houses contiguous to the river had to be supported else they would have fallen. This defect I presume might be remedied by having the streets paved—

RAYMOND; MUD; BAD ROADS.

On Wednesday 15th left Vicksburg at 6 o'clock a. m. on R. Road to Raymond distance 36 miles where I arr'd at 9 o'clock. I was surprised to find the section of Country over which the R. R. passes much broken, indeed it is quite hilly and almost mountainous. these hills are represented as being very productive, but the Country is so subject to washing I apprehend a few years Cultivation will destroy

or materially injure the Soil. I have now fairly gotten into a muddy country of which I have heard much. A slight rain this morning has made the streets so slippery that it is very bad walking. Raymond is the County Seat of Hinds County and is in a state of improvement. At least has been. There are a few good houses here & the Court house is quite a genteel building. Breakfasting in Raymond I left

HIGH RATES; CLINTON; LIVINGSTON.

here at 10 o'clock in stage for Clinton, 8 miles & got there over a bad road by 12 o'clock. I have reason to exult in having travelled from home to Vicksburg so cheaply, but I have now as good reason for complaining on the other hand of the exorbitancy of the charges. Thus on the R. R. I paid four dols. & from R. to Clinton two dols. or 25c per mile! Clinton is one of the numerous villages started up in the palmy days of Miss. and which like many others are destined to sink into decay. There are several good buildings here but are shut up, & many in a state of dilapidation. I stopt at a miserable Tavern, and got a miserable dinner, of which I ate but little, and leaving my Trunk and borrowing a pair of saddle bags & hiring horse at two 50-100 dols. pr day, prepared to penetrate into the interior. 18 miles from Clinton I found myself in the evening at Livingston in Madison County, which if possible is a dirtier place & less accommodation than Clinton. Here I staid all night,

DOGS; RICH LANDS.

and such growling and barking and fighting among the dogs that I could scarcely sleep. I find Miss. almost overrun with dogs, certainly in larger numbers than anywhere else I have ever seen. Not finding at L. the person I desired to see, thursday morning I rode 5 miles farther where I saw the gentleman sought for. From here I rode to "Society Ridge"—& stopt at Mrs. Cottens. I find through this coun-

ty some of the finest lands I have ever seen & calculated probably to yield as much as any lands in the U. S. But alas! to such condition are the people reduced in money af-

RUINOUS, DEMORALIZING SPECULATION.

fairs.—Speculation, speculation, has been making poor men rich and rich men princes; men of no capital, in three years have become wealthy and those of *some* have grown to hundreds of thousands.—But as great as are the resources of Miss; and as valuable as are her lands, yet there were limits to both and these limits have been passed, lost sight of & forgotten as things having no existence. A revulsion has taken place, Miss: is ruined, her rich men are poor and her poor men beggars. Millions on millions have been speculated on and gambled away by banking, by luxury, and too much prosperity until of all the States in the Union she has become much the worst. We have hard times in No. Ca.; hard times in the east, hard times everywhere, but Miss: exceeds them all. Some of the finest lands in Madison & Hinds Counties may now be bought for comparatively nothing. Those that once commanded from thirty to fifty dolls. pr acre, may now be bought for three to five dollars and that with considerable improvements, while many have been sold at sheffs. Sales at fifty cents that were considered worth ten to Twenty dolls.—The people too are running their negroes to Texas & to Alabama, and leaving their real est. & perishable property to be sold or rather sacrificed. In the community where I am, it may probably be said that *not one man in fifty*, are solvent and probably less a number than this, but what are more or less involved. So great is the panic and so dreadful the distress that there are a great many farms prepared to receive Crops & some of them actually planted, and yet deserted, not a human being to be found upon them. I had prepared myself to see hard times here, but unlike most Cases, the actual condition of

affairs is much worse than the report. The Society is dreadful, nothing like religion and indeed not much of common honesty. Still I am of opinion that the present and the next twelve months will be the most favorable times for those who ever think of migrating from the Northern & Eastern States. Lands are not only low, but I think a grand revolution must ensue. The dishonest and the insolvent must leave the State, when I think others will come in more prudent and prepared to act upon different principles from those who preceded them. Since I have seen Miss: & her resources, her good and her cheap lands, I have become charmed and almost determined to become a farmer. If I could now leave No. Ca. I should think very seriously of locating in this State. In regard to health I am satisfied that

HEALTH GOOD; TRANSPORTATION POOR.

almost any portions of the country I have yet seen are superior to the County of Edgecombe [N. C.]. There is however a drawback in regard to this county. They have no nearer point from whence to ship than Vicksburg, from 50 to 75 miles. The R. R. from V. to Jackson is building but it will be some time ere it is accomplished, and at present the charges on it are so enormous as almost to prohibit the farmers from shipping on it, hence they hawl to Vicksburg over a dreadful road, and this is a very serious job.—I meet with acquaintances everywhere, and many that I had understood were in prosperous circumstances are poorer than

NO COLLECTIONS.

when they left No. Ca.—I had from \$8 to \$10,000 due in this State and find I shall not be able to collect *one single cent*. I met with one man who offered to pay \$3,000 in Union Money which could not be sold for more than 40c in the dollar. I had to decline receiving it. Finding it impossible to make any Collections or of securing the debts due

I concluded it was useless for me longer to remain, and after looking about awhile longer, on Saturday morning I returned to Clinton & and giving up my hired horse at 12

JACKSON ; BAD WATER ; HEAVY RAIN.

o'clock m. took stage to Jackson 12 miles. This latter is the seat of government of Miss: but from its appearance one would not come to this conclusion. In winter it may have probably 1500 inhabitants, all of whom leave in Summer that can get away. It is situated on low, level land and the streets in rainy weather are very muddy. The water is very bad, so bad in fact that I could not drink it & had to mix brandy with it. I expected to leave the next evening, but was disappointed.

Sunday 19th. this was indeed a gloomy day. it had rained very hard the previous evening and this morning at 8 o'clock it began again and from then till 6 o'clock p. m. it rained incessantly, and for the length of time one of the hardest rains I have ever seen fall. The consequence was every place was filled with water and the Stage due at 4 o'clock did not get in until the next day. I therefore had to remain as quietly as possible with the prospect of not getting away until Wednesday night.

Monday 20th. A little better than I expected. They [sic] day was very fair and pretty, and about 12 o'clock the stage came in, at 2 o'clock p. m. therefore I took my seat for Columbus—We had proceeded but a little way before the effects of yesterday's rain were very preceptible, high creeks, bridges washed away, and it was with the utmost difficulty that we could get along at all. Riding in the Stage forty seven miles brought us to a halt about day-break next Morning and here I had to exchange the Coach for a square box set on two low wheels, intended only for

CART RIDE; PROFANITY; ROUGH COUNTRY.

Carrying the mail, and having no more spring to it than is to be found on the earth itself. Here commenced a ride of over 100 miles which of all others I have ever experienced, by far exceeded them all and forms an epoch in my travelling life which I hope will never be equalled again. Bad roads, Bad fare, profane and reckless drivers, and the only redeeming trait was the excellency of the Teams, these are equal to any I have ever seen. My proximity to the driver was an unenviable Situation, for they were the most profane and vulgar set of men I have ever met with. Much of the Country over which the road passes is very hilly and very poor resembling the poor hills of Franklin & Granville Counties [N. C.,] than any I have seen. I had no idea that any part of Miss: was as mountainous as I find it to be. 25 ms. before reaching Columbus commences an extensive prairie, from 10 to 12 ms. wide & 25 to 30 ms. long. The road heretore [sic] was rooty, hilly, and never worked, hence I was jolted badly, through the prairie the wheels of our vehicle were often up to their hubs in mud. Finally about 2 o'clock p. m. of Wednesday I reached Columbus, tired, hungry, sore, and almost jolted to pieces. I verily believe I could not have travelled 25 ms. farther this way. With a thankful heart I got out of my box and bidding it an adieu, I hope forever, I stopt at Jones Hotel. I found

DIRTY HOTELS IN MISS.

this house not exempt from the filth to which all the Hotels at which I have yet been, are subject to. It seems to be a characteristic of the Miss: public Houses, and which renders them very unpleasant places of resort. I was so tired however and nearly worried down, that almost any kind of an house where to rest my wearied limbs would have proved a luxury. After dinner (none of the best) I went

to my room and for two hours slept as soundly as it was possible to have done. On awakening I was somewhat refreshed, and a good night's rest again, improved me a great deal.

(To be Continued.)

THE UNIVERSITY OF HENRICO.

BY JOHN S. FLORY.

The idea generally prevails that the early Virginians were averse to education. The notorious declaration¹ of

BERKELEY'S FAMOUS REMARK.

Governor Berkeley is quoted by historians as conclusive evidence of this opinion, and the subject is dismissed as if the last word had been said. Governor Berkeley, however, it should be remembered, was the instrument of an arbitrary king, and in no sense did he express the feelings and aspirations of the real founders of Virginia. More than a score of years before Sir William came to this country, the promoters of the colony, both in England and America, were making enthusiastic and praiseworthy efforts to establish a system of education on Virginia soil. The King's active interest in the project at that time would have done him great honor, had he not later, in violation of the laws of his own realm, destroyed the work he had himself previously fostered. By his arbitrary measures with the Virginia Company, (which will be noticed at the proper place) one of the noblest enterprises connected with the planting of the new world came to an untimely end.

EARLY EFFORTS.

The facts connected with the founding of a College at Henrico, now discoverable, are scattered and meager, and frequently the statements concerning it are confusing. Enough remains, however, to give a tolerably clear conception of the purpose of those who promoted the enterprise,

¹"I thank God there are no free schools, nor printing, in Virginia, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years." Written in a letter to England in 1671.

and of the methods by which they sought to achieve their object.

The year 1619 is famous in American history as marking the beginning of real growth in the Virginia colony. The arrival of Sir George Yeardley, April 19th, marks a new era. The liberal policy that he announced for the government of the colony infused new life into the gloomy planters. To have a voice in the management of their own affairs was a privilege they had scarcely dared hope for. Yet, if Sir George possessed any authority to convene the deliberative body that met in July of this year, the fact has been lost to history. The Company, however, in the following year, signified their approval of his course of action, and certainly the feeling of contentment and the hopefulness that his policy fostered throughout the colony at this time was most helpful. To the subsequent effects of this policy I shall refer later.

Governor Yeardley was ably seconded in his efforts to improve the condition of the colonists, by the able treasurer of the Company, Sir Edwin Sandys. Through his influence, the introduction of virtuous maids to become wives of the planters brought, into their lonely cabins, the first rays of domestic felicity. The introduction of African slaves, too, while disastrous in the end, had the immediate effect of making life more easy. But of all the generous measures that make this year famous, none speak more highly of the noble purpose and the penetrating foresight of the promoters of the colony than their purpose to establish a college at Henrico.

When Sir George Yeardley sailed from England on the 29th of January, 1619, the King had already issued orders

KING'S ORDERS FOR £15,000 ABOUT 1619.

to the various archbishops in his realm, commanding the collection of 15,000 pounds for the purpose of erecting a

college in Virginia. This action of the monarch had doubtless been solicited by the Virginia Company and may have been performed as much as a year before the above date. The proposed institution was to be "for the training and bringing up of infidels' children to the true knowledge of God and understanding of righteousness." One who gave

TO EDUCATE INDIANS.

liberally for the support of the school but who refused to reveal his name, thus minutely and clearly states his desire in regard to the use of his donation: he directs that it be applied "for the maintaining of a convenient number of young Indians, taken at the age of seven years or younger, and instructed in reading and understanding the principles of the Christian religion unto the age of twelve years, and then as occasion serveth, to be trained and brought up in some lawful trade with all humanity and gentleness unto the age of twenty-one years, and then to enjoy like liberties and privileges with our native English in that place."² The Company, on accepting this donation, directed that "such of these children as we find capable of learning shall be put in the College and brought up to be scholars, and such as are not shall be put to trades, and be brought up in the fear of God and Christian religion."³ About the same time, the Virginia Assembly, in considering the problem of fitting Indian boys for the College, added, "that from thence they may be sent to that work of conversion."⁴

I have brought together these various statements in regard to the purpose of the College that a clear conception may be had of the real design. From the last quotation cited, it is evident that the colonists themselves understood that the College, in addition to civilizing and christianizing young

² *Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, Vol. I, page 42.

³ *Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, Vol. I, p. 43.

⁴ *The Governors of Virginia*, Smith, p. 72.

Indians, should also prepare some of them as missionaries to their own people. The gentleman who refused to give his name entertained the lofty idea of preparing the Indians for citizenship—an ideal that has never been realized. It is probable, however, that neither of these ideals represents fully the aim of the Virginia Company. Their object was the “civilization” of the Indians, which necessarily included instruction in the fundamental principles of Christianity. By teaching them the arts of civilization, the Company thought the Indians would become producers, and aid in subduing the savagery of the American wilderness. Such as showed talent to learn were to receive scholarly training, presumably for the purpose of teaching others of their kind. Whether this higher training was to be chiefly secular or chiefly religious is uncertain, but probably the former. There is every evidence that the result sought was practical, and that the whole plan of education was directed towards making the Indians useful members of the community. Probably the College would have assumed something of the character of the industrial schools for negroes of the present day.

At the sailing of Governor Yeardley, about 1,500 pounds of the sum ordered by the King had been collected and was in the treasury of the Virginia Company. This Company

WHITES ADMITTED; LAND GRANT.

now enlarged the original design of the College by providing for the admission of the English also to its advantages. At the same time they made, for the use of the institution, a grant of an immense tract of land on the northern side of the James River, extending from the Falls of Henrico, about ten miles in length, and consisting of ten thousand acres. The name of the school was also now enlarged so as to read, The College and University of Henrico. One thousand acres of this tract was to belong to the College, or school for

Indians, and the rest to the University proper, which was designed for the English. By the terms "College" and "University," we are to understand simply two departments of the same institution, intended for Indians and English respectively, and with this distinction the terms will be used hereafter in this paper.

UNIVERSITY ON PAPER ONLY.

Notwithstanding the enormous tract of land bequeathed by the Virginia Company, the University seems never to have commanded any resources. This was intended as a theological seminary to train ministers for the Church of England in America.⁵ The fact that comparatively few of these were as yet needed, according to the existing plan of colonization, and that the College was to provide religious instruction for the Indians, made it important that the College rather than the University be put in operation as quickly as possible. Consequently the University took a second place, as being of less immediate importance. With these statements, the University as a separate school or department may be dismissed. This is as near a reality as it ever came.

REVENUES FOR THE COLLEGE.

The money raised by the archbishops at the King's command was originally intended for the *erection* of the College. During the year 1619, however, the Company decided to use it for another purpose. They agreed to employ it in providing an annual revenue for the school, and at the same time they turned over, for the time being, the whole of the ten thousand acres of land to the College, intending to erect the University, or divinity school, later on, when the College for Indians had been established. This revenue was to be created by cultivating the college lands; and, in order that

⁵ Hawks's *Ecclesiastical History of the United States*, p. 37.

proceeds might begin to accrue, "fifty good persons" were to be sent to Virginia to begin the work of cultivation. For the transportation of these tenants and establishing them as farmers, the collections from England were now used.

To insure proper attention to the undertaking, all matters pertaining to the College were given into the care of a special committee. This committee recommended that the young men to be sent as tenants should be unmarried, and should represent certain useful trades;⁶ that a minister be sent, whose living⁷ they had provided for; and also that a captain be secured to oversee the tenants on the college lands.

To the office of overseer William Weldon was appointed. He never entered upon the duties of his office, however, and George Thorpe was chosen in his place, but did not reach the colony until the following year. In compensation for his services, the incumbent of this office was to receive the proceeds of "300 acres of land with ten servants."

The fifty tenants for the college lands sailed from London in August, 1619, and reached Virginia the 4th of December following. They were to have half the benefit of their labor, and the other half was to go in setting forward the work, and "for the maintenance of the tutors and scholars." In the spring of 1620, fifty more tenants were sent and likewise located on the college property.

The plan on which the Company were proceeding is thus clearly seen. A permanent income was to be created out of the college lands, and from this the buildings were to be erected and the schools maintained.

As auxiliary to this plan, and in compliance with the same principle, the Company now decided to use several sums of money left in their hands for the benefit of the school, in erecting an iron furnace in Virginia, the proceeds

⁶ Smiths, carpenters, brick-layers, potters, husbandmen, brick-makers, and turners.

⁷ He was to have 40 pounds annually, and 50 acres of land for himself and heirs forever.

of which were to be devoted to this educational work. A place on Falling Creek, near the James, was chosen as the site of the furnace, and in the autumn of 1619 fifty men were sent from England to set the work on foot. Two years later it was described as being "in a very great forwardness."

The principle upon which the Company proceeded in their efforts to plant the College at Henrico was sound, conservative, and eminently practical. The proceeds of an iron furnace and of ten thousand acres of land in tidewater Virginia, when brought under proper cultivation, would have produced an unfailing revenue for the support of the first American University.

DONATIONS FROM ENGLAND.

The interest awakened in the mother country for the success of the enterprise is shown by the many donations that came into the hands of the Company. Among these was one of 550 pounds in gold, and one of 500 pounds by promissory note. Another sum of 300 pounds was left by Nicholas Ferrar in his will, and one of 100 pounds by George Ruggles in the same way. A friend gave "a communion cup, with a cover and case, a trencher plate for the bread, a carpet of crimson velvet, and a damask tablecloth for the college." A "person refusing to be named," sent at one time four religious books⁸ and a map of the American coast; at another time he sent four more volumes of a similar nature.⁹ In the colony, too, interest was by no means wanting. The Rev. Thomas Bargrave, minister at Henrico, donated his library, and the people of Henrico village subscribed 1,500 pounds to

⁸ One was a treatise on *The City of God*, by St. Augustine, translated into English. The other three were the works of Rev. William Perkins in defense of his Calvinistic doctrines.

⁹ A large church Bible, the common prayer-book, Ursinus' Catechism, and a small Bible richly ornamented.

build a hotel for the entertainment of visitors. All of these donations, it seems, were for the College for Indians.

A COLLEGE FREE SCHOOL.

In the summer of 1621, the educational plan for Virginia was a second time enlarged. Rev. Patrick Copeland, returning to England from the East Indies, prevailed upon the crew of the vessel of which he was chaplain to contribute seventy pounds for the erection of a free school in Virginia. To this sum one unknown person added thirty pounds, another twenty-five pounds, and still another £66 13s. 4d. All of these sums were placed in the hands of the Virginia Company, who now, on their part, granted a thousand acres of land at Charles City for the maintenance of the school. Owing to the circumstances under which it had its origin, it was to be called the East India School. It was to be dependent upon the College, and students were to be graduated from it to the College according to their proficiency in learning.¹⁰

HOME TRAINING FOR THE INDIANS.

The question has probably already arisen in the mind of the reader, why a College was planned before provision had been made for a system of preparatory education. We shall see, however, that this point had not been overlooked, but had been provided for in another way. According to the original plan, the rudiments of education were to be imparted to the Indian boys in the homes of the planters. The first legislative assembly of Virginia enacted "that for laying a surer foundation for the conversion of the Indians to Christian Religion, eache towne, citty, Borrough, and particular plantation do obtaine unto themselves by just means a certaine number of the natives' children to be educated by them in religion and civil course of life—of which children

¹⁰ Holmes's *Annals*, p. 173.

the most towardly boyes in witt & grace of nature to be brought up by them in the first elements of litterature, so as to be fitted for the Colledge intended for them."¹¹ This act was passed as early as August 2nd, 1619, and shows that the original purpose of the planters was to prepare the Indian boys for College in their own homes. The compensation for this kind of instruction was estimated by the Virginia Company at ten pounds for each boy, and was to be paid out of the funds accruing to the school. Later we hear the planters complaining to the Company that they cannot get possession of many children in the peaceable manner that had been recommended, because of the natural affection of the parents for their children. This fact made the Free School well nigh a necessity.

PRELIMINARIES FOR THE FREE SCHOOL.

As yet there was no immediate demand for the College and still less for the University, but the want of primary instruction was felt more keenly every day. The liberality with which contributions were made for the Free School made it possible to push this now in preference to the College or University. At the end of 1621, about 102 pounds and one thousand acres of land had been donated for the school. In March of the next year John Dike was appointed as usher in the school with the understanding that, if his work proved successful, he should be advanced to the position of master. Shortly before this the Virginia court had been considering and probably had adopted for use in the school "Brindley's 'Consolation for our Grammer Schools,' especially designed for the more speedie attaining of the English tongue by people of such rude countries as Ireland, Wales, Virginia, and the Somers Islands."¹² In June, 1622, Leonard Hudson, a carpenter, with his wife and five apprentices,

¹¹ *The Governors of Virginia*, Smith, p. 72.

¹² *The First Republic in America*, Brown, p. 443.

sailed from England for the purpose of erecting the school building at Charles City.¹³

The Rev. Mr. Copeland, to whose active interest the Free School chiefly owed its origin, had been honored by the Company with a present of three shares of stock and membership in the corporation. He was now further honored by being appointed rector of "the intended College at Henrico," which function included the pastoral charge of the College tenants. As compensation for these services he was to have the tenth part of the profit due to the College, out of the lands and arising out of the labors of the tenants.¹⁴ He was also to be provided with a parsonage, and was to be a member of the council of Virginia.

MANAGEMENT OF LANDS.

In the meantime George Thorpe, the deputy or overseer, had succeeded in bringing a large part of the College lands under cultivation. A hundred tenants had been located upon the lands, most of whom were now married and settled. By dividing the ten thousand acres into tracts of about one hundred acres each, he was speedily rendering the whole productive. It is probable that in this second year of cultivation the land was already beginning to yield a revenue.

HOPES SHATTERED BY INDIAN MASSACRE.

To this stage the work of planting an educational institution in Virginia had progressed by the spring of 1622; and certainly the prospect was most auspicious. Of the three schools planned, the Free School seemed on the very verge of erection, and the College appeared to be not a great way off. A sum equivalent to nearly a hundred thousand dollars in our time had been expended in the enterprise, and much

¹³ *Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, Vol. I, p. 146. News of the massacre of March 22nd had not yet reached England.

¹⁴ *Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, Vol. I, p. 218.

thought and labor had been bestowed upon its advancement. What with the organization of schools, the appointment of instructors, the adoption of text-books, the donation of libraries, the collection of funds, the contracting of master mechanics, the cultivation of friendly relations¹⁵ with the Indians, the planters already saw towering up, in their imaginations, the temples of learning, which, in a little while, would teem with the busy work of converting a savage people to the ways of civilization. Their fondest hopes, however, were not to be realized. Like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky came the terrible catastrophe of March 22nd—the horrible Indian massacre—in which the work of years was destroyed in one brief day, and the College enterprise went down in the general ruin.

The details of the massacre are well known, and need not be repeated here. "Of the eighty plantations which were advancing to completion, eight only remained."¹⁶ The fury of the savages seems to have been directed especially against those settlements that were designed as educational centres. Henrico and Charles City were literally razed to the ground. At the iron works everything possible was destroyed, all the workmen killed except two children, and the tools of the workmen thrown into the river.¹⁷ The overseer of the college lands and "all but sixty or thereabouts" of the tenants were also among the slain.

REVIVAL OF PURPOSE.

After the first shock of consternation had passed, however, the colonists resolutely set about to repair their losses.

¹⁵ Howe's *Virginia, Its History and Antiquities*, p. 44.

¹⁶ Hawks's *Ecclesiastical History of the United States*, p. 41.

¹⁷ It is uncertain to what degree of completion the iron works had been brought. The statements regarding it are not clear. There is evidence that iron had been smelted at the works, and there is equally good evidence that the works had never been completed.

See *Proceedings, &c.*, Vol. I, p. 50, and Vol. II, p. 179; also *The First Republic in America*, Brown, p. 500.

The Virginia Company also lent them generous aid, and in August of the same year wrote as follows: "It is absolutely necessary for the good of the colony to replant Henrico, the Colledge-lands, the Iron Works, Charies Cittie, and Martin's Hundred."¹⁸ About the same time the college affairs were placed under the care of George Sandys, and the iron works under Maurice Berkley. The brick-makers were to be held to their contract made with Mr. Thorpe, so that "when the opportunity shall be for the erecting of the fabric of the Colledge, the materialls be not wanting."¹⁹ From these statements it is clear that the Company meant to revive the school enterprise after the massacre, and push it to completion.

In February, 1623, George Sandys, who had now assumed the management of the college affairs, wrote to the Company saying, "I have hired a ship to carry ye Colledge men to their plantation, which is now under sayle I pray God it succeed well, but I like not this stragelinge & if all had been of my minde, I would rather have disobeyed your command."²⁰ This is a characteristic remark, and shows that, while the deputy was conscientiously discharging the duties of his office, he was entering into the work with only a half-hearted earnestness. The college lands were thus retenant-ed, but the work of rebuilding Henrico and Charles City went forward slowly.

REVOKING CHARTER KILLS NOBLE PLAN.

During the years 1623 and 1624 the college enterprise met with many hindrances. Owing in part to the want of means and in part to the want of proper encouragement, but chiefly to the continual strife between the King and the Company, in which the monarch sought to deprive the Com-

¹⁸ Brown's *The First Republic in America*, p. 500.

¹⁹ *The First Republic in America*, Brown, p. 500.

²⁰ *The First Republic in America*, Brown, p. 505.

pany of their charter, the work was little more than kept alive. And when, in November, 1624, the King's court rendered a verdict revoking the charter and making Virginia a royal colony, the whole enterprise went down never to be revived.

It is impossible to contemplate the undeserved fate of the first projected American College without many regrets; yet the conditions were such as to make a better fate almost an impossibility. The increasing wealth of the Company and the growing spirit of democracy in the colony were not long to pass unheeded by an arbitrary and money-loving king like James I. The natural reaction had come, and the royal prerogative was again to predominate in Virginia's affairs. The liberal policy which had caused such universal satisfaction throughout the colony in 1619 was now bearing its logical fruit. From the Indian massacre the College would have recovered, but there was no withstanding the determined opposition of the King. The dissolution of the Virginia Company and the confiscation of the college property extinguished, in the minds of its many friends and promoters, the last lingering hope of reviving the cherished enterprise. With the failure of the Henrico University came to an end the first noble effort to civilize the Indians by means of education. When the subject of schools was taken up again, ten years later,²¹ provisions were made for the English only; the opportunity of the red man had gone by forever.

²¹ In 1634 Benjamin Sym founded a Free School on the Pocason river and endowed it with 200 acres of land and the increase of eight milk cows. This was the first educational institution in Virginia.

THE DUANE LETTERS.

(Continued.)

PHILIP LIVINGSTON TO JAMES DUANE.¹

NEW YORK, *Tuesday, 27th, Sept., 1774.*

Dr. Sir—

I got home on Saturday Evening last & wou'd have wrote you before now, but thought it best to wait a Day or two that I might have some opportunity to collect sentiments respecting the Affairs you are engaged in, and it is with great pleasure I inform you that it seems to be the General Opinion to rest satisfied with the Determination of the Congress. A non-importation from Britain is looked upon to be a determined Affair since the notice published by the Congress on Thursday last, & will give no uneasiness in this City, and a non-Exportation to commence the middle of September next I am fully satisfied will be cheerfully acquiesced in. I sincerely wish the New York Delegates may agree with the Congress in every measure that shall be concluded on by them for a redress of their Grievances. It is absolutely necessary for the general Interest of America that it should be so. A Dissent from the other Colonies besides being fatal to the common cause, will give room for suggestions no-ways favorable to the People of this City, which I wish to God may be prevented, especially as there is advice from

¹ Philip Livingston, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was born in Albany, N. Y., in 1715 and died in York, Pa., in 1778. He was a graduate of Yale College and afterwards engaged in the duties of an importing merchant in New York. He was a member of the Provincial Assembly for New York and also a member of the first Continental Congress. He was active in all movements for the benefit of his country and especially for New York.

London that some principal People have given assurances to Government that the People of this City will take no Part with the People of Boston respecting the oppressive Acts of Parliament &c &c.

Without Unity America is undone, let not the fault be laid at our Door.

When I left you the Affair of Trade was under consideration. I think G. Britain has a right to regulate our Trade for the General Interest of the Empire, but not to impose Duties or Taxes to raise a revenue. It is a right she has always exercised & in which we have acquiesced, & without which we should be entirely independent of the Mother Country, which I think is an absurdity no man in his senses can gravely advance. To deny her that right would be to deny her existence as a great nation, which she undoubtedly will endeavour to maintain, if her right is denied, by her Power.

Mr. Boerum was yesterday elected Delegate for Kings County. He is going down to-morrow morning to assist at the Congress. I wish you may receive great Light and assistance from this grave Senator. He says his County don't care what is done about Non-Importation, but Non-Exportation is what they are apprehensive of. Who can doubt this? He says however that if it shou'd not commence 'till next September the County will be easy for this reason, that possibly all the Differences between G. Britain & the Colonies may subside before any Inconvenience is felt.

I remain, Dr. Sir your most obedt. Servt.

PHILIP LIVINGSTON.

James Duane Esquire,
at
Philadelphia.

LIVINGSTON TO JAMES DUANE.

MANOR LIVINGSTON, *Nov. 3, 1779.*

Dear Sir

Since my return from the Northern Frontiers I have been so engaged in settling the accounts of my Reg^t that it has been out of my power to give you a brief, account untill now—

from the time that I took the command untill the 9 Oct. the chief of my time, was employ'd in pressing cattle from the disaffected to supply, the Garrisons, of Fort Ann, and Fort George.

Fort Ann was Garrisoned by Cap^t Sherwood and Sixty Men, from my Reg^t on Monday night the 9th Oct. he sent me word, that his scouts, had discovered, the tracks of 150 Men, and from their course, he believed they would make an attack that night. I imedeately order all my men out of their beds, and hold my works, man'd during that night, and keep out small parties, to patrol the woods, & Roads round my Works—but discoverd nothing, on the 10th early in the Morning I sent out small parties on the road leading to Fort Ann but they discoverd nothing. at ten oclock of the same day, I saw the smoak arrise in the Quarter of Fort Ann and heard a firing. I then was convinced the Enemy was come and that they must be in force or they would not dare fire Houses, and keep up a firing in a settled country. I did imedeately send off a Continental officer (who was acquainted with the country) to allarm the Militia. I then sent out, a good officer & twenty Men (which was one third of Men in my Garrison) to endeavor to make discoveries, and, at the same time to cut off any small parties of the inhabitants that might be going to join the Enemy, he had not march'd more than three Miles, before he fell in with about thirty Indians, and a body of tories, which made him retreat imedeately but in good order, soon after that the

whig inhabitants came to the fort for protection and by one of them, I learn^t that the Enemy consisted of 600 British, 200 Tories, and 150 Indians, & that they had taken Fort Ann, without firing a shot.—I then, thought my situation very critical, I had only 60 Men Rank & file with 10 officers, I did not know what to do. if they came, I knew, that I must fall, and fight I must after one of the Forts had surrendered without fighting. I do assure you I was much embarrased, and I wrote two letters, to the officer at Fort Ann informing him that if the Enemy should attack him I would support him, one of which letters fell into the hands of the Enemy. I have reason to believe, the British troops then March on, and encamp about 5 Miles from me, and sent down the Tories & Indians to burn and destroy all round me, and I assure you they gave me a great deal of trouble during the night of the 11. early in the Morning of the 12th they march to fort George, the commanding officer of that port had discovered by his scouts a party of 30 Indians, (which was their advance party) he sent out 50 Men to fight them, but to their great surprise they found themselves surrounded by the whole of the British; immediately on that they attempt to make a retreat but all in vain, they lost 13 Men kill'd, & 10 taken prisoner. They they march'd to the fort, which capitulated on very honorable terms. the Enemy then burnt the fort, and cross'd the lake, so that they was but two days in the country—

I am now order out with all the Militia, as the Enemy have made their appearance in lake George again, when I return you shall have the rest of my adventures in the Northern World—

I am D^rSir

with great esteem

Fort Edward was
not tenable. against
50 Men, this is a fact

yours sincerely
W. LIVINGSTON

(To be Continued.)

RECONSTRUCTION DOCUMENTS.

THE VIEWS OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

From Doolittle Papers; Contributed by Duane Mowry.

[The following is a copy of an unsigned manuscript document found among the private papers and letters of the late ex-Senator James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin. It is presumed that the document was furnished to the Senator during his service in the United States Senate to be used, and which may have been in fact used, in the discussion of the reconstruction policy of Mr. Johnson. It may have furnished the text of Judge Doolittle's defense of President Johnson's attitude towards the seceding Southern States, as it is well known that the late ex-Senator was on the most intimate personal and confidential relations with Mr. Johnson and his Administration. It is not thought that the "opinions" which follow offer anything historically new. Possibly, they may serve to corroborate some truths of history.]

"The President holds that the so-called 'Confederate States' were merely combinations of traitors, who, for the time, overthrew all national and State authority, and established thereon a revolutionary government, but that these revolutionary govts (governments) never were States. That the People constitute the States, and what is meant by the term *People* is, that portion of the political community, who by their several state constitutions are made electors and invested with political sovereignty, not aliens, not adherents of the rebel power.

"The President holds that the rebels are no part of the People, and therefore, their confederate governments may be overthrown and their armies captured or dispersed. Yet so long as there is a hope cherished of revival, either by force or fraud, its adherents are still enemies, mere prisoners of war, and not citizens.

"The States then, are the people who never belonged to that revolutionary power, or, having belonged to it, renounced it and renewed their allegiance to the National government.

"It follows, therefore, from the principles of President Johnson's policy, that the People of the Southern States, though long overborne by a power they were unable to resist, lost not their rights as States of this Union; but that these rights, so to speak, were dormant, held in abeyance, and revived in their full force and virtue, so soon as the rebel power was sufficiently destroyed or weakened to admit of their free exercise.

"It follows, also, from the President's policy, that whoever obstructs the people in the re-organization of their State governments & attempts to bar the door against their admission as States of this Union, is a revolutionist, playing the *role* of the original secessionists.

"And if by *force* he should overthrow these States, and defeat the People in the enjoyment of equal rights as members of this free republic, he is a traitor as richly deserving the execration of mankind, as is Jefferson Davis & his co-conspirators."

Then follows this significant paragraph, which, presumably, is the argument of him who had been quoting the foregoing extracts from the President's position.

"In the sense in which I use the term 'people' they never lost their love for the Constitution—the bulk of them were never prepared to adopt the views of Davis & Co., & a conception of Confederate independence would have blasted the hopes of the majority."

PAYMENT FOR NEGROES.

From Mrs. Ruth Marshall to Senator Doolittle.

[MILWAUKEE, WIS., Oct. 19th, 1903.]

[To the Editor of the Publications of the Southern History Association:]

The letter which follows was carefully enclosed in the envelope in which it was evidently sent to the late ex-Senator Doolittle, of Wisconsin. The case which the letter outlines is not, probably, an isolated one. It has, as one can easily see, many features of real hard-

ship. But the letter is not submitted for that reason, but rather to present a real condition of affairs succeeding the War of the Rebellion. The story is so simply and truthfully told, and the dear interests of the relator are so candidly set forth, that one cannot fail to be interested from the outset. I do not know what Judge Doolittle did with Mrs. Marshall's "momentous question," nor is it important now. But it would seem that there were equities in her statement of facts that ought to appeal to some higher court than a devastating army, or an unfriendly public opinion. The writer found the letter among the private correspondence of the great commoner from Wisconsin, who represented the Badger State in the United States Senate for twelve years, from 1857 to 1869.

Very truly yours,

DUANE MOWRY.]

CHARLESTON, SO. CA., Feb'y 12th /67.

To the Honorable James R. Doolittle.

Respected Sir:—

I have presumed to address you on a subject of vital importance to myself, & one which is anxiously thought of by many others. I am deeply interested on the settlement relative to negro bonds. My Husband was a Scotchman, and myself an English Woman, both for many years Citizens of U. S. The year that the unhappy war broke out my Husband died leaving a valuable Estate chiefly in Plantations & Negroes. One lot of Negroes had been purchased but a short time before his death in the year /60, one-third cash, balance in 1, 2 & 3 yrs, with interest from date, bond & mortgage given on the negroes purchased. 1st installment was paid, 2nd also, now this was fully half, but when 3 installment became due, Executor of Est. from whom the negroes had been purchased, refuses to accept Confederate Currency, when it was nearly on a par with gold, & what had I, a widow, a non-combatant & a Foreigner to do with the change of currency? Nothing but to see & submit, but at the same time, said Executor willingly receives interest in Confederate currency, & is willing to continue doing so, thereby deriving a comfortable support from my hard exertions, & thus keeping the debt hanging

over my head as Executrix of my Husband's property. I, a woman, acting for myself, & daughter, he a man & a Bank Officer, not daring enough to risk the investment of the money, which could easily have been done in Cotton, Real Estate, & a thousand other ways had he chosen to have taken the risk, but preferring to cast the responsibility on my side, he refuses to rec. payment, thus warding off a complete settlement of the debt. The war progresses. By Confederate forces I am compelled to abandon my beautiful homes on the Coast, elegant House, Mills, Barns, etc., all burned, a complete desolation of a magnificent property ensues. I find a home with my Family & Negroes, about 70 miles from the Coast, strenuously endeavor to support, cloth & feed the Negroes. When located there a sufficient time to begin to get comfortable, we prove to be in the line of March of Sherman's Army. We were again forced to leave houses, Barns, etc., all again devastated, burned & destroyed, & from affluence & luxuries, I am pomparatively (comparatively) without means, only the remains of once valuable Plantations, and a portion of City property saved by strenuous exertions, which now affords myself & children a support & home.

My Question now arises, Can this remnant of property be wrested from me? By an act of Legislature of South Carolina, the Negroes were declared free. Can it not be made a Question in Congress, so that we can be justified? I hold a Bill of Sale of said Negroes, declaring them to be mine, they & their Heirs for life. The contract on their side is violated & again in my perplexity I earnestly ask of you, Can I be made to pay this unjust debt?

To you I appeal for Council & advice on this momentous Question, craving your assistance & trusting that this communication may elicit from you a speedy reply, which I shall ever esteem a favor & honor.

Very Respectfully,

RUTH MARSHALL.

REVIEWS.

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF SLAVERY. Being an account of the Slavery Controversy from the earliest agitations in the eighteenth century to the close of the Reconstruction Period in America. By William Henry Smith. With an introduction by Whitelaw Reid. In two volumes. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903. O., pp. I. xvi+350, II. iv+456, index, portrait of author.

Mr. Smith, the editor of the St. Clair Papers, was made the literary executor of President Hayes, whose early career had brought him into the thick of the anti-slavery agitation which preceded the organization of the Republican party. The present volumes were originally intended as an introduction to an edition of the *Life and Works* of President Hayes, but outgrowing their original scope, were prepared for publication after the death of the author in 1896 by his son and issued in the present form.

The avowed purpose of the work, according to the introduction, is to shear New England of a great part of the honor which she has claimed for herself (since she has had the greatest number of writers on this subject) in the anti-slavery struggle. The violence of Foster, the outbursts of Phillips and the vituperation of Garrison are censured and condemned. It seeks to redeem the Middle West from the curse denounced by the Confederate Congress at its last session against the Southern people in case of failure—that their history should be written by New England historians. It claims the chief honors for Charles Osborn and those who organized the opposition while “to another generation the idolatrous treatment of the pure abolition school which at the East appeared to follow the close of the war will seem little short of amazing.”

These brave words by the editor of the *Tribune* present the work in the most favorable light and make pleasant reading for one who has not been reared within the influence of that universe whose sun and center is Boston. They are further emphasized when we remember that Mr. Smith was himself a man from the Middle West, that he was not only an onlooker but a participant in the events which he describes and we are led to expect an exact, precise, minute, circumstantial account of the part taken by the great States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois in the anti-slavery conflict. It was possible for Mr. Smith to have made an original contribution to the history of slavery and to have put all future historians in his debt; but he has done nothing of the kind. He has produced two ponderous tomes filled mostly with platitudes and the threadbare story of congressional contests which have been told time and again. Some of the matters here presented in great detail concern slavery, while others bear relations to that subject only as all other important events of that day can be made to show relations to that great central idea. The first chapter which deals with the rise of the anti-slavery idea is imperfect and shows great lack of knowledge when compared with the minute, full and luminous presentation of the same subject by Miss Mary Stoughton Locke in her *Anti-Slavery in America* prior to 1808. The later chapters, which present the phases of the subject with which Mr. Smith was more or less familiar, are uncritical and show not the spirit of the judge but of the partisan. Of works of this sort, undigested, illogical, uncritical and partisan we have had an abundant crop already. The capacity of the country is no doubt great enough for one more, but pray let us not try to beguile ourselves with the idea that this is history. Let us count each as but an additional brief to be estimated and weighed by the coming historian.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM TRYON AND HIS ADMINISTRATION IN THE PROVINCE OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1765-1771. By Marshall DeLancey Haywood. (Raleigh: A. Williams, 1903. Q., pp. 223, 4 ill., 1 map, cloth, \$2.00 prepaid.)

"Do you know, sir, that your lenity on this occasion," writes Judge Maurice Moore to Governor Tryon, then promoted to New York, in regard to the trial and execution of the Regulators, "was less than that of the bloody Jeffreys in 1685? He condemned 500 persons, but saved the lives of 270." Tryon condemned twelve and saved six. "When several thousand men had been in open and armed insurrection against the colony, and had been guilty of all manner of excesses, only twelve were convicted," writes the author of this book (p. 145), "and the governor pardoned half of that small number." At the end of our Civil War when a million men had been in armed resistance not one was hanged for treason. Had the courts of the United States brought two thousand leading Confederates to trial for treason, had they been convicted and had Lincoln allowed the law to take its course, the mind of the South could not have conceived nor its tongue expressed the hatred in which he would have been held by unborn generations. And yet Lincoln would have been less guilty before the bar of History than the client for whom Mr. Haywood appears and in whose behalf he here presents such an excellent and eloquent brief.

All that can be said in behalf of Tryon has been said here; the oppression and injustice under which the Regulators suffered and against which they protested has been minimized; the kindness, the liberality, the forbearance, the culture, the eloquence and even the pity of Tryon are emphasized; the hideous tyranny of the Johnston act is not laid at the door of Tryon, but at that of the colonial leaders; the ignorance and riotous excesses of the mob are held up to publicity, and not only is Fanning pulled down from bad eminence "as the suggesting fiend or active demon when any specially

dark scenes were depicted" (p. 150), on which the older and ultra democratic writers had placed him, but Tryon is evolved as a sort of *deus ex machina* from whose benevolence all sorts of blessings would have flowed on the rebels, but they would not.

In dealing with the Regulators we regret to say that the work of Mr. Haywood lacks judicial poise. Not content with presenting Tryon in the most favorable light possible, he descends to invective and sarcasm, and so far forgets his judicial position as to tacitly assume that (1) the Regulators could get justice under the Johnston act which had been condemned, in part, in England as irreconcilable with the constitution; (2) and in the court of the very judges who had suffered violence at their hands! Great store is also laid on the fact that the Regulators were generally Tories in the Revolution. The men who led the patriot forces of North Carolina in 1776 were those who had defeated the Regulators in 1771. The men who forced the oath of allegiance down the throats of the Regulators in 1771 sought to make them break that oath in 1776. Only superhuman power or wonderful intelligence could have made the Regulators patriots.

Aside from the fact that his book in the Regulator's war is a special brief for Tryon, Mr. Haywood has produced a volume of much worth. It is really a history of the colony during Tryon's administration, 1765-71. Many little known events are recorded and it is especially rich in biographical and genealogical material, much of it obtained at first hand from English sources. In manner of presentation, in comprehensive knowledge of the sources and in scientific treatment it commands the highest praise. There is an exhaustive index.

It cannot be said that this book settles the question as to the party which was right in 1771, but this thorough and exhaustive piece of work brings us measurably nearer the

truth. Never before has Tryon found in North Carolina so careful, so thorough, so scholarly a defender; never have the Regulators had their view so assailed; never has the unpopular side been so well upheld. But the whole truth is not yet; it is in the middle ground between Tryon and Regulator, and Mr. Haywood has done much to give us a better understanding of the man who was perhaps the strongest of all the colonial governors of North Carolina.

Anent Mr. Francis Nast's recent papers on the Regulation war, appearing in the *Charlotte Observer* and in his *Hillsboro: Colonial and Revolutionary*, Mrs. L. A. McCorkle writes the *N. C. Booklet* for November, 1903 (III, No. 7), and under the title "Was Alamance the first battle of the Revolution?" makes a strong plea for the view that the Regulators were patriots and that their battle was the shot heard around the world. The paper is better put together and based on better evidence than such popular papers are generally expected to be. The December number of the *Booklet* is a sketch of Governor Charles Eden (1673-1722), also by Mr. Haywood.

HISTORY OF MECKLENBURG COUNTY [North Carolina] and the City of Charlotte from 1740 to 1903. By D. A. Tompkins. Volume I. Charlotte, N. C.: Observer Printing House, 1903. O., pp. xviii+202; 51 illus., 4 ports., 1 map, 1 port. and 2 ills. in colors.

It is not often that a Southern county can boast of two histories, but this good fortune has come to Mecklenburg Co., N. C., and both were published in 1903. Dr. Alexander's book was published last spring and is reviewed on pp. 300-1 of volume seven. The first volume of Mr. Tompkins' work has just been issued. It is devoted to the narrative history of the county and of the city of Charlotte from 1762 to date. Volume two will follow and will be in the nature

of an appendix, "containing ample discussions of important events, a collection of biographies and many official documents." Authorities are given after each chapter and each volume is to be supplied with an index.

Mr. Tompkins's work differs considerably from most local histories in that it comes much nearer to the German idea of a social history than works of its class are apt to do. In the present volume are chapters on industries and customs, education, slavery, introduction of the cotton industry, effect of slavery on industries, railroads, mining and the mint, road-building, manufactures, the whole being so arranged as to bring out in clear perspective the blighting effects of the slave system and the phenomenal growth of the last twenty years which has made Charlotte the center of a circle whose radius of 100 miles embraces nearly 300 cotton mills, operating 3,000,000 spindles, 85,000 looms and employing a capital of \$100,000,000. This study is the more valuable as it shows that the ante-bellum life of Mecklenburg in its rise and fall under slavery was fairly typical of the State as a whole; that the introduction of manufactures has increased the gross profits of the county 30 per cent., that the annual profit on the money invested is 26 per cent., and that the increased value of the county's cotton crop by reason of its manufacture at home is 150 per cent. These figures and the example of this pioneer manufacturing county encourage us to think of and work more ardently for the day when the whole of the cotton crop shall be spun and woven in Southern mills. Then will Cotton be King indeed!

In its methods of investigation the book shows many virtues and many vices. There is an index, many illustrations, many names and dates, all of which count for minuteness and exactness, qualities preëminently desirable in a book of this character. On the other hand many subjects do not appear to be exhaustively treated; the chapters are

short; a given subject is not treated entirely in one place, but is cut up into a number of sections and arranged chronologically, which gives the book an air of scrappiness and incompleteness; and while many facts are given they are not always corroborated.

In the use of sources Mr. Tompkins ascends to the heights of Parnassus and descends to the bottomless pit. He properly makes constant use of printed and unprinted records, newspapers, reports of railroads and other corporations, proceedings of societies, census returns, and many other original and unimpeachable sources. But in dealing with printed histories he sometimes makes the wildest and most inexcusable breaks, even quoting from Wheeler, Appleton's *Encyclopædia* and Eggleston's *History of the United States*! The most serious charge against him on the score of materials is that he seems to be unacquainted with the latest works dealing with the more general phases of his book. Thus he says on p. 5 that George Durant was a Quaker and that his land grant (in 1662 not 1633) became the nucleus of a large Quaker settlement, a refuge for Quakers from Virginia and New England. Again, there are many errors, perhaps due in part to carelessness in proof reading, as: p. 2, 1687 for 1587; p. 5, 1712 for 1711, and 1633 for 1662; p. 19, Louis XVI for Louis XIV; p. 39, Hermon Husband (not Herman Husbands) was *not* present at the battle of Alamance, May 16 (not 17), 1771, and so could not have led the Regulators, etc. These are all small errors, it is true, but Mr. Tompkins has done so much and such admirable work in advancing cotton manufacturing both in practical form and in such published works as his *Cotton Mill Commercial Features*, *Cotton and Cotton Oil*, *Cotton Values in Textile Fabrics*, and *Cotton Mill Processes and Calculations*, that his name carries with it far more weight than that of most writers on local history and for this reason it is with him a case of *noblesse oblige*.

But all the blemishes on the work are really insignificant when we consider the strong grasp of the subject, and the philosophical conception of treatment. Mr. Tompkins sets a noble example of combining great business success with high mental culture.

The book is well printed and bound by a Charlotte publishing company, many of the illustrations are reproduced from his *Cotton Mill Commercial Features*, those of cotton, in color, being remarkably true to life.

GORDON KEITH. By Thomas Nelson Page, with illustrations by George Wright, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903 D. pp viii+xl.+548, 8 ills., cloth, \$1.50

This is reported in the press as an extraordinarily successful novel of North and South, but it leaves a bad farewell behind. The hero is a young Southerner who inherits from his father, a Confederate general, nothing save honor and the instincts of a gentleman. In the struggle for wealth which possesses him these nobler qualities are well nigh crushed. Gordon Keith starts out with lofty ideals; these are choked in the blighting society of New York money bags and would have perished utterly had he not been recalled to his better self at the critical moment by General Keith.

As for the other men in the book they are almost without exception of the low, vulgar sort whose money causes others less wealthy to fall in worship before them. The women are even more shallow and empty than the men. A continuous round of dances, dinners, gossip and scandal makes up their lives. They serve no useful purpose in life or in novels except as living advocates of socialism. It is into this atmosphere of wealth, not of culture, education, refinement or intelligence that success introduces Gordon Keith. He becomes one of them. He enters a gentleman, a majestic demigod, like Lucifer ready to war with the Almighty, and ends

“squat like a toad at the listening ear of Eve.” It takes the genius of insight and the pen of mastery to give us the literary portrait of these disgusting currents of life.

LAFITTE OF LOUISIANA. By Mary Devereux. Illustrated by Harry C. Edwards. (Boston. Little, Brown & Company, 1902. D. pp viii+427, 5 ills., cloth, \$1.50.)

This novel is a romance founded on the remarkable career of Jean Lafitte during the French Revolution and the War of 1812. Lafitte bore a prominent part in the history of Louisiana; and from the facts and legends which have come down to us the author has constructed an absorbing story, which begins with Lafitte's first meeting with Napoleon, and closes with the battle of New Orleans. The heroine of the book is Rose de Cazeneuve, granddaughter of Count de Cazeneuve. The author has pictured the times in which Lafitte lived and her characters, particularly those of Lafitte and Napoleon Bonaparte, are well drawn.

MY CAPTIVE. By J. A. Altsheler. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1902. D. pp. v+281, cloth, \$1.25.

This is a sweet little love story of the Southern campaign of 1780-81 and of the War in the Carolinas. The scene is laid in South Carolina and culminates in the battle of Cowpens. The hero is one of Washington's cavalymen, while the heroine is an English girl taken in one of the surprises that enlivened that gloomy winter. The bulk of the book is occupied in relating the experiences of the young soldier, who tells his own story, in trying to reach the American lines with his fair captive. They have many narrow escapes in that Tory infested land, but finally reach safety and with the usual result. The author has no moral to point, no tale to adorn, no sermon to preach, no ulterior purpose in view. He tells simply and well a wholesome and pure story of love and adventure.

A LIST OF BOOKS ON THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, with references to periodicals. By A. P. C. Griffin, Chief of Division of Bibliography. With chronological list of maps in the Library of Congress, by P. Lee Phillips, Chief of Division of Maps and Charts. Washington: Govt. Printing Office, 4to pp xv, 397, cloth.

A magnificent piece of work is this, well arranged comprehensive, systematic, splendidly indexed. It contains titles of 1,715 books, 197 government documents, 45 consular reports and 970 magazine articles, with 860 map items. The mass of printed material is set forth under 29 topics, such as "Agriculture," "finance," "pirates," etc., all in a table of contents. The maps follow in chronological and numerical order. There are four indexes, a subject and an author index each to the "Book" class and to the maps. But the best feature of the whole volume is the introductory summary of 9 pages, pointing out the leading authorities on different branches of knowledge of the Archipelago—an aid to all, but especially excellent for the great bulk of readers. Practically Mr. Griffin has set a perfect standard for bibliographical productions, a guide for all laborers in that department.

THE OLD JEWISH CEMETERIES AT CHARLESTON, S. C. By Dr. Barnett A. Elzas. Charleston, S. C.: The Daggett Printing Company, 1903. Pp. 121, 8vo., cloth.

A genuine contribution to history in the best methods of to-day is this volume of transcripts of the tombstone inscriptions of the Jewish cemeteries of Charleston, S. C. Dr. Elzas has taken unwearied pains to insure accuracy, having compared his copy several times with the originals. He has not followed the lines on the stones that would have made too large a book, but he aimed to give the exact language. He

has also included a history of the three old cemeteries, with some small private burying grounds. His index is substantially perfect. He has, in fact, thoroughly covered his field, his scientific work can never be superseded, but will grow in value with the years.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

THE GULF STATES HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Vol II, No 2, September, 1903. Joel C. DuBose, editor, Montgomery, Ala. \$3.00 yearly, 50 cts. singly, pp. 73-136.

Contents: 1. The Formation of the Union League in Alabama, by Walter L. Fleming. 17 pp., covering the two years from 1867 to 1869, with a short general sketch of the origin of this order in its efforts to preserve the Union. (A thorough, scientific paper.)

2. Major George Farragut, by Marshall DeLancey Haywood. 9 pp., sketch of the father of Admiral Farragut, a full-blooded Spaniard, born 1755, died 1817, having lived the most of the time in Tennessee after leaving Spain in 1772. (Based on original material.)

3. Recollections of Judge Wm. D. Wood, 11 pp., covering Texas life during the Civil War. (Interesting first hand material.)

4. An American Prince and Princess, by J. F. Bouchelle. 5 pp., sketching career of N. A. Murat, nephew of Bonaparte, and Murat's wife, C. D. Willis; both living mostly in the South. (No references.)

5. The Waltons of Virginia, by Mrs. Wm. C. Stubbs. 3 pp., including also some from N. C. and Ga.

6. Tennessee Newspaper Files in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., 5 pp., very incomplete files mostly.

7. Documents, 4 pp., letter of March 10, 1849, from W. R. King to J. W. Womack dealing with Alabama politics; two letters of 1866 from H. McCulloch and J. F. Simmons, on reconstruction.

8. Minor Topics, 2 pp., on the Choctaw Town Nanipacna, by H. S. Halbert; Indian massacre of 1760 at Long Cane, S. C., from S. C. Gazette of Feb. 28, 1760.

9. Notes and Queries, 1 p.; historical news, 1 p.; book notes and reviews, 2 pp.

THE QUARTERLY OF THE TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, October, 1903, Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 95-176, yearly \$2.00, singly 50 cents, Austin, Tex.

Contents: 1. The Cherokee Indians in Texas, by Ernest William Winkler. 71 pp., development of an under graduate thesis. (In first class method being fortified with many footnotes.)

2. Miles Squier Bennet, by Adele B. Looscan. 2 pp., born Dec. 14, 1818, died May 3, 1903; reprinted from San Antonio Sunday Light for May 31, 1903.

3. Book Reviews and Notices, 2 pp.; Notes and Fragments, 3 pp.; Queries and Answers, one-half page.; Affairs of the Association, 1p.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL MAGAZINE, October, 1903, Vol. IV, No. 4, quarterly, pp. 263-355, \$3.00 yearly, \$1.00 singly, Charleston, S. C.

Contents: 1. Letters of Hon. Henry Laurens to his son John, 1773-1776, continued; 15 pp., four letters, chiefly of family matters, fatherly advice and some local events and general politics.

2. Letters of Rev. Samuel Thomas, 1702-1706, concluded; 8 pp., three letters on the ignorance of the South Carolinians and his missionary labors among them.

3. South Carolina Gleanings in England, concluded; 10 pp., from L. Withington with something from H. F. Waters; will abstracts.

4. The Butlers of South Carolina, by Theodore D. Jervey. 16 pp., beginning with James Butler and coming to the present.

5. Historical Notes, 2pp.; Necrology, 1 p.; Index, 39 pp.

THE SEWANEE REVIEW, October, 1903, Vol. XI, No. 4, pp. 385-512, quarterly, \$2.00 yearly, 50 cents singly, Sewanee, Tenn.

Contents: 1. Canadian Novels and Novelists, by Lawrence J. Burpee. 27 pp., chiefly contemporary work though going back to the eighteenth century, leading men sketched with titles of works in footnotes; claims some 250 English fiction authors in Canada, not counting French ones or magazine tales.

2. The Real and the Ideal in History, by Frederick W. Moore. 14 pp., essay that our estimates of men and events change with new material and time.

3. The Services of Naturalism to Life and Literature, by Martin Schutze. 19pp., essay referring to Zola, Tolstoi, Balzac, Ibsen, Hardy, Hauptman and others, but holding that naturalism has run its course. (Very didactic and formal.)

4. Browning's Place in the Evolution of English Poetry, by Lewis Worthington Smith. 8 pp., essay that his work is "A reversion to earlier forms," with reference to Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, Coleridge, and Wordsworth. (Really not much on Browning.)

5. Sidney Lanier's Lectures, by L. W. Payne, Jr. 9 pp., review of the two volumes issued nearly two years ago; "There is not a dull page in the book," shows tone of review.

6. One Phase of Literary Conditions in the South, by Carl Holliday. 4 pp., vigorous view that the hope of literary improvement rests on "The Southern Public School Teacher."

7. Classic Versification in English Poetry of the Sixteenth Century, by H. Carrington Lancaster. 7 pp., treating the work of Gabriel Harvey and his school.

8. Frank R. Stockton, by Edwin W. Bowen. 5 pp., mostly estimating his works. (Very readable.)

9. Roumania and the Monroe Doctrine, by Edmund Ar-

thur Dodge. 11 pp., dealing with Secretary Hay's note on the Jewish Question, with some historical sketch from diplomacy. (Not very clear.)

10. The Far Eastern Situation, by Edwin Maxey. 7 pp., general essay, with few exact details.

11. Reviews, 9 pp.; Notes, 7 pp.

SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY, January, 1904, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 99, \$2.00 yearly, 50 cents singly, Durham, N. C.

Contents: 1. Conservatism and Progress in the Cotton Belt, by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, Ph. D. 9 pp., essay restating unfortunate influences of slavery, with attacks on "Bourbons." (Another iteration of the race question very hazy on what he calls "Bourbons.")

2. Frederick Law Olmsted on the South, 1889, by Thomas H. Clark. 5 pp., a letter optimistic as to decline of sectional feeling and improvement of negroes.

3. Wisconsin Libraries, by Charles Forster Smith, Ph. D. pp. 10, a very interesting summary of the work of libraries in that State.

4. North Carolina's Part in the Revolution, No. II, by Sallie Joyner Davis, continued. 12 pp., details carefully gathered from the original records.

5. The Removal of Legal and Political Disabilities, 1868-1898, No. II, by J. G. DeR. Hamilton. 13 pp., based chiefly on the Congressional debates but not fortified with footnotes.

6. The Christian Persecutions and Roman Jurisprudence, by William Kenneth Boyd. 9 pp., in good historical method with quotations and footnotes.

7. Trinity College and Academic Liberty, 11 pp., trustee statement, Faculty Memorial and student editorials, dealing with the resignation offered by Prof. J. S. Bassett consequent upon his article of last October on the race question.

8. George Eliot as a Prose Artist, by Edwin W. Bowen, Ph. D. 15 pp., estimating her works claiming that she "had genius," and raised romance to a higher plane.

9. Book Reviews, 9 pp.; Literary Notes, 1 p.

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY MAGAZINE for December, 1903, Vol. XXIII, No. 6, pp. 421-526, \$1.00 yearly, singly 10 cents, Washington, D. C., (organ D. A. R.).

1. Berks County, Pennsylvania, in the American Revolution, by Jane S. Owen Keim. 7 pp., mere essay.

2. The Masts of the Frigate Constitution, by Netta Lee Goldsborough. 4 pp., that the masts became the columns of the house of Daniel Bedinger, of Shepherdstown, W. Va., which was burned in 1863, thus destroying the masts.

3. Our Flag—June 1777, by Helen P. Kane. 1 p., poem.

4. Children of the Republic, by Caroline M. Murphy. 4 pp., plan to interest all children in the organization.

5. Revolutionary Widows, 1890. 2 pp., 23 widows in all, now nearly all dead.

6. Revolutionary Records, 2 pp., death notices from Boston newspapers and the Evangelical Magazine.

7. Real Daughters, 3 pp., Mrs. M. B. Belcher, Mrs. P. S. Merrill, and Mrs. M. E. G. B. Cobb.

8. Work of the Chapters, 22 pp.; Parliamentary Law Talks, by Mary Belle King Sherman, 2 pp.; Genealogical Notes and Queries, 5 pp.; Young People's Department, 5 pp.; In Memoriam, 2 pp.; book notes, 1 p.; official matters, 46 pp.

CONFEDERATE VETERAN, Dec. 1903, Jan. 1904, Vol. XI, No. 12, Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 531-567, 5-42, yearly \$1.00, singly 10 cents, Nashville, Tenn.

Fresh light is thrown on several prominent events of the Civil War in these two numbers. Lieut. M. Overly, claiming to be "probably the very last confederate to leave Colum-

bia" in 1865, gives his emphatic testimony to clear Wade Hampton from the charge of burning that city. T. J. Watson offers his recollections of the killing of Gen. J. E. B. Stuart. W. F. Randolph, captain of Stonewall Jackson's body guard, rehearses from memory his evidence that Jackson was shot by his own men and not by the enemy. William Le Roy Broun, a very prominent educator in the South, adds material of value to the mass already accumulated on the history of the war, in a paper describing the work of the Confederate Ordnance Department of which he was a very active official having charge of the arsenal at Richmond for a considerable time. It is one of the most important contributions for the future historian to work over that have been made of late by this periodical.

THE LOST CAUSE, Sept., Oct., Nov. 1903, Vol. X, Nos. 2, 3, 4, pp. 17-64, yearly \$1.00, singly 10 cents Louisville, Ky.

These three issues are filled largely with very interesting reprints such as "Personne's Letters" from Charleston in 1861; extracts from various sources on the history of the confederate flag and an article from Dr. S. E. Lewis on the humane step taken by the confederates, largely at his instance, for practically treating surgeons as non-combatants.

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 to publish any material except original

sources such as documents, diaries, or mere compilations of facts and events. If government publications attempt to go beyond this safeguard they soon flounder in a miry mush of platitudes and essays which are a deplorable waste of valuable space. Several States are beautiful examples of how degenerate editing becomes at times, when the manager has to accept everything from an author with a pull, and reject everything that is likely to wound any tender sensibility.

THOROUGHNESS OF HISTORICAL METHODS TO-DAY.—Modern historiography is becoming more and more relentless every year. The foremost workers in the field are raising the standard higher so that for scientific history almost unquenchable demands are made upon a man's time and labor. Prof. Justin H. Smith, of Dartmouth College, is an illustration of this in his energetic expediture of time, and effort in the preparation of this book on Arnold's March (reviewed in these Publications, pp. 467, Vol. 7). Not only did he employ the services of trained copyists, but he hired several guides in following Arnold's course from New England to Quebec. He, himself, went over the entire distance at least once and some of the stages as much as seven times. He also went down the Chaudiere river in a canoe at the imminent risk of his life in passing over the dangerous rapids. When the book was in type he took the infinite pains of reading proof by the original manuscripts with the aid of an expert decipherer. These toilsome efforts resulted in a clean sweep of the entire field both as to the material and as to the proper editing of it—no higher praise can be given to any historical volume designed for specialists. The general reader might find what he considers faults but as the book was not intended for him, his criticisms would really not count against it. Prof. Smith is

now working on the history of the Mexican War and he is applying the same thorough, comprehensive, exhaustive methods in his search for the truth.

PEABODY FUND.—At the January meeting of the Trustees of this educational foundation no successor was chosen to Dr. J. L. M. Curry as general agent. Dr. S. A. Green was continued temporarily in charge. There was a discussion as to permanently disposing of the fund for the establishment of a Normal Institution at some point in the South but final determination of these important questions was left for the next meeting of the Trustees to be held in October.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
SOUTHERN HISTORY ASSOCIATION.

VOL. VIII.

MARCH, 1904.

No. 2.

HOME LIFE IN ALABAMA DURING THE CIVIL
WAR.

BY WALTER L. FLEMING, WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY.

SOCIETY IN 1861.

During the early months of 1861 society was at its brightest and best. For several years social life had been characterized by a vague feeling of unrest. Political questions became social questions, society and politics went hand in hand, and the social leaders were the political leaders. The women were well informed on all questions of the day and especially on the burning sectional issues that affected them so closely. After the John Brown episode at Harper's Ferry, the women felt that for them there could be no safety until the question was settled. They were strongly in favor of secession after that event if not before; they were even more unanimous than the men, feeling that they were more directly concerned in questions of interference with social institutions in the South. There was to them a great danger in social changes made, as all expected, by John Brown methods.¹

¹ Colonel Higginson seems to understand the influence of the women, but not the reason for their interest in public questions. He says: "But for the women of the seceding States, the war of the Re-

Brilliant social events celebrated the great political actions of the day. The secession of Alabama, the sessions of the Convention, the meeting of the legislature, the meeting of the Provisional Congress, the inauguration of President Davis—all were occasions for splendid gatherings of beauty and talent and strength. There were balls, receptions, and other social events in country and in town. There was no city life, and country and town were socially one. Enthusiasm for the new government of the Southern nation was at fever heat for months. At heart many feared and dreaded that war might follow, but had war been certain, the knowledge would have turned no one from his course. When war was seen to be imminent, enthusiasm rose higher. Fear and dread was in the hearts of the women, but no one hesitated. From social gaiety they turned to the task of making ready for war their fathers, brothers, husbands and sweethearts. They hurriedly made the first gray uniforms and prepared supplies for the campaign. When the companies were fitted out and ready to depart, there were farewell balls and sermons, and presentations of colors by young women. These ceremonies took place in the churches, town halls, and court houses. Speeches of presentation were made by young

bellion would have been waged more feebly, been sooner ended, and far more easily forgotten." * * * "Had the voters of the South been all women, it would have plunged earlier into the gulf of secession, dived deeper, and come up even more reluctantly."—Higginson, *Common Sense About Women*, 54, 209. Prof. Burgess, with a better understanding, explains the reason for the interest of the women in sectional questions. He says that after the attempt of John Brown to incite the slaves to insurrection, "Especially did terror and bitterness take possession of the hearts of the women of the South, who saw in slave insurrection not only destruction and death, but that which to feminine virtue is a thousand times worse than the most terrible death. For those who would excite such a movement or sympathize with anybody who would excite such a movement, the women of the South felt a hatred as undying as virtue itself. Men might still hesitate * * * but the women were united and resolute, and their unanimous exhortation was: 'Men of the South, defend the honor of your mothers, your wives, your sisters, and your daughters. It is your highest and most sacred duty.'"—Burgess, *Civil War and the Constitution*, I, 42.

women and of acceptance by the officers. The men always spoke well. The women showed a thorough acquaintance with the questions at issue, but most of their addresses were charges to the soldiers, encouragement to duty. "Go, my sons, and return victorious or fall in the cause of the South," or a similar paraphrase was often heard. One lady said "we confide [to you] this emblem of our zeal for liberty, trusting that it will nerve your hearts and strengthen your hands in the hour of trial, and that its presence will forbid the thought of seeking any other retreat than in death." Another maiden told her soldiers that "we who present this banner expect it to be returned brightened by your chivalry or to become the shroud of the slain." "The terrors of war are far less to be feared than the degradation of ignoble submission," the soldiers were assured by another bright-eyed girl. The legends embroidered or woven into the colors were such as these: "To the Brave," "Victory or Death," "Never Surrender."²

There were dress parades, exhibition drills, picnics, barbecues, and then the soldiers marched away. After a short season of feverish social gayety, the seriousness of war was brought home to the people, and those left behind settled down to watch and wait and work and pray for the loved ones and for the cause. It was soon a very quiet life, industrious, strained with waiting and listening for news. For a long time the interior country was not disturbed by fear of invasion. Life was monotonous; sorrow came afresh daily; and it was a blessing to the women that they had to work so hard during the war, as constant employment was their greatest comfort.

² *Our Women in War*, *passim*; Ball, *Clarke County*, 261-274; oral accounts, scrapbooks, letters.

LIFE ON THE FARM.

The great majority of the people of Alabama lived in the country on farms and plantations. They had been dependent upon the North for all the finer and many of the commoner manufactured articles. The staple crop was cotton, which was sold in exchange for many of the ordinary necessities of life. Now all was changed. The blockade shut off supplies from abroad and the plantations had to raise all that was needed for feeding and clothing the people at home and the soldiers in the field. This necessitated a change in plantation economy. After the first year of war less and less cotton was planted, and food crops became the staple agricultural productions. The State and Confederate authorities urged and encouraged this tendency by advice and by law. The farms produced many things which were seldom planted before the war when cotton was the staple crop. Cereals were cultivated in the northern counties and to some extent in central Alabama, though wheat was never successful in central and South Alabama. Rice, oats, corn, peas, pumpkins, ground-peas and chufas were grown more and more as the war went on. Ground-peas (called also, peanuts, goobers, or pindars, according to locality), and chufas were raised to feed hogs and poultry. The common field pea, or "speckled Jack," was one of the mainstays of the Confederacy. It is said that General Lee called it "the Confederacy's best friend." At "laying by" the farmers planted peas between the hills of corn and the vines grew and the crop matured with little further trouble. Sweet potatoes were everywhere raised, and became a staple article of food.

Rice was stripped of its husk by being beaten with a wooden pestle in a mortar cut out of a section of a tree. The threshing of the wheat was a cause of much trouble. Rude home made flails were used, for there were no regular threshers. No one raised much of it, for it was a great task

to clean it. One poor woman who had a small patch of wheat threshed it by beating the sheaves over a barrel while bed quilts and sheets were spread around to catch scattering grains. Another placed the sheaves in a large wooden trough, then she and her small children beat the sheaves with wooden clubs. After being threshed in some such manner the chaff was fanned out by pouring the grain from a measure in a breeze and catching it on a sheet.

LABOR.

Field labor was performed in the Black Belt by the negroes, but in the white counties the burden fell heavily upon the women, children and old men. In the Black Belt the mistress of the plantation managed affairs with the assistance of the trusty negroes. She superintended the planting of the proper crops, the cultivation and gathering of the same, and sent to the government stores the large share called for by the tax-in-kind. The old men of the community, if near enough, assisted the women managers by advice and direction. Often one old gentleman would have half a dozen feminine planters as his wards. Life was very busy in the Black Belt but there was never the suffering in this rich section that prevailed in the less fertile white counties from which the white laborers had gone to war. In the latter section the mistress of slaves managed much as did her Black Belt sister, but there were fewer slaves and life was harder for all, and hardest of all for the poor white people who owned no slaves. When few slaves were owned by a family the young white boys worked in the field with them while the girls of the family did the light tasks about the house, though at times they too went to the field. Where there were no slaves, the old men, cripples, women, and children worked on the little farms. All over the country the young boys worked like heroes. All had been taught that labor was honorable and all knew how work should be done. So when war made it necessary all went to work

only the harder; there was no holding of hands in idleness. The mistress of the plantation was already accustomed to the management of large affairs and war brought additional duties rather than new and strange problems; but the wife of the poor farmer or renter left alone with small children had a hard time making both ends meet.

HOME INDUSTRIES; MAKESHIFTS AND SUBSTITUTES.

Many articles in common use had now to be made at home, and the plantation developed many small industries. There was much joy when a substitute was found, because it made the people independent of the outside world. Farm implements were made and repaired. Ropes were made at home of various materials such as bear-grass, sunflower stalks, and cotton; baskets, of willow branches and of oak splints; rough earthenware, of clay and then glazed; cooking soda from seaweed and from corn-cob ashes; ink from nutgalls or ink balls, from the skin of blue fig, green persimmons, poke berries, rusty nails, pomegranate rind, and indigo. Cement was made from wild potatoes and flour; starch from nearly ripe corn, sweet potatoes, and flour. Bottles or gourds with small rolls of cotton for wicks, served as lamps, and in place of oil, cotton seed oil, ground pea or peanut oil and lard were used. Candles made of wax or tallow were used, while in the "piney woods" pine knots furnished all the necessary illumination. Mattresses were stuffed with moss, leaves and cat-tails. No paper could be wasted for envelopes. The sheet was written on except just enough for the address when folded. In other instances wall paper and sheets of paper with pictures on one side and the other side blank were folded and used for envelopes. Mucilage for the envelopes was made from peach tree gum. Corn cob pipes with a joint of reed or fig twig for a stem, were fashionable. The leaves of the China tree kept insects away from dried fruit; the China berries were made into whiskey and were

used as a basis for "Poor Man's" soap. Wax myrtle and rosin were also used in making soap. Beer was made from corn, persimmons, potatoes, and sassafras; "lemonade" from may-pops and pomegranates.. Dogwood and willow bark was mixed with smoking tobacco "to make it go a long way." Shoes had to be made for white and black, and backyard tanneries were established. The hides were first soaked in a barrel filled with a solution of lye until the hair would come off, when they were placed in a pit between alternate layers of red-oak bark and water poured in. In this "ooze" they soaked for several months and were then ready for use. The hides of horses, dogs, mules, hogs, cows and goats were utilized, and shoes, harness and saddles were made on the farm.

All the domestic animals were now raised in larger numbers, especially beef cattle, sheep, goats and hogs. Sheep were raised principally for their wool. The work of all was directed toward supplying the army, and the best of everything was sent to the soldiers.

FOOD.

Home life was very quiet, busy and monotonous with its daily routine of duty in which all had a part. There were few even of the wealthiest who did not work with their hands if physically able. Life was hard, but people soon became accustomed to make-shifts and privation, and most of them had plenty to eat, though the food was usually coarse. Corn bread was nearly always to be had; in some places often nothing else. After the first year few people ever had flour to cook; especially was this the case in the southern counties. When a family was so fortunate as to obtain a sack or barrel of flour all the neighbors were invited in to get biscuits, though sometimes all of it was kept to make starch. Bolted meal was used as a substitute for flour in cakes, bread, etc. Most of the meat produced was

sent to the army, and the average family could afford it only once a day, many only once a week. When an epidemic of cholera killed the hogs the people became vegetarians, and lived on corn bread, milk and syrup; many had only the first.³ Tea and coffee were very scarce in the interior of Alabama, and small supplies of the genuine were saved for emergencies. For tea there were various substitutes, among them holly leaves, rose leaves, blackberry and raspberry leaves; while for coffee, rye, okra seed, corn, bran, meal, hominy, peanuts and bits of parched or roasted sweet potatoes were used. Syrup was made from the juice of the water melon, and preserves from its rind. The juice of corn stalks was also made into syrup. In South Alabama sugar cane and in North Alabama sorghum furnished "long sweetening." The sorghum was boiled in old iron kettles, and often made the teeth black. In South Alabama syrup was used instead of sugar in cooking. In grinding sugar cane and sorghum wooden rollers often had to be made, as iron ones were scarce. However, when they could be obtained they were passed from family to family around the community. There would be scarcity in one section of the State and plenty in another, for the lack of facilities for transportation prevented the distribution of supplies and suffering resulted.

CLOTHING; CLOTH.

Before the war most articles of clothing were purchased in the North or imported from abroad. Now that the blockade shut Alabama off from all sources of supply, the people had to make their cloth and clothing at home. The factories in the South could not even supply the

³ One of my acquaintances says that quite often she had only bread, milk and syrup twice a day. Sometimes she was unable to eat any breakfast but after spinning an hour or two it was possible to eat. To many the diet was very healthful, but the sick and the delicate died for want of proper food.

needs of the army, and there was a universal return to primitive and frontier conditions. Old wheels and looms were brought out and others were made like them.. The State government bought large quantities of cotton and wool cards for the use of poor people. The women worked incessantly. Every household was a small factory, and in an incredibly short time the women mastered the intricacies of looms, spinning wheels, warping frames, swifts, etc. Negro women sometimes learned to spin and weave. The whites did most of it; weaving was too difficult for the average negro to learn. The area devoted to the cultivation of cotton was restricted by law, but more than enough was raised to supply the few factories then operating, principally for the government, and to supply the spinning wheels and hand looms of the people.

As a rule each member of the family had a regularly allotted task for each day in spinning or weaving. The young girls could not weave but could spin;⁴ the women became expert at weaving and spinning and made beautiful cloth. All kinds of cotton goods were woven, coarse osnaburgs, sheetings, coverlets, counterpanes, a kind of muslin, and various kinds of light cloth for women's dresses. Wool was grown on a large scale as the war went on, and the women wove flannels, plaids, balmorals, blankets, and carpets.⁵ Gray jeans was woven to make clothing for the soldiers who had almost no clothes except those sent them by their home people. A soldier's pay would not buy a shirt, even when he was paid, which was seldom the case. Nearly every one wove homespun, dyed with homemade dyes, and it was often very pretty. The women took more pride in their

⁴At the close of the war my mother was twelve years old; for more than two years she had been doing a woman's task at spinning. Her sister had been spinning for a year, though she was only six years old.

⁵Many of the heavier articles woven during the war, such as coverlets, counterpanes, rugs, etc., are still after forty years almost as good as new.

neat homespun dresses than they ever did before in the possession of silks and satins. And there was friendly rivalry between them in spinning and weaving the prettiest homespun as there was in making the whitest sugar, the cleanest rice, and the best wheat and corn. But they could not make enough cloth to supply both army and people, and old clothes stored away were brought out and used to the last scrap. When worn out the rags were unraveled and the short threads spun together and woven again into coarse goods. Pillow cases and sheets were cut up for clothes and were replaced by homespun substitutes, and window curtains were made into women's clothes. Carpets were made into blankets. There were no blanket factories and the legislature appropriated the carpets in the capitol for blankets for the soldiers.⁶ Some people went to the tan yards and got hair from horse and cow hides and mixed it with cotton to make heavy cloth for winter use, which is said to have made a good looking garment. Once in a long while the father or brother in the army would send home a bolt of calico, or even just enough to make one dress. Then there would be a very proud woman in the land. Scraps of these rare dresses and also of the homespun dresses are found in the old scrap books of the time. The homespun is the better looking. No one saw a fashion plate and each one set the style. Hoop skirts were made from the remains of old ones found in the garrets and plunder rooms. Anything that was wearable was in the style. It is said that the Southern women affected dresses that were slightly longer in front than behind and held them aside in their hands. Sometimes fortunate persons succeeded in buying for a few hundred dollars some dress material that had been brought through the blockade. A calico dress cost in central Alabama from \$100 to \$600; other material in proportion. Sewing thread was made by the home spinners with infinite trouble, but it was

⁶ Acts, Dec. 1861, 2 Called and 1 Reg. Sess., 70.

never satisfactory. Buttons were made of pasteboard, pine bark, cloth, thread, persimmon seed, gourds, and wood covered with cloth. Pasteboard, for buttons and other uses, was made by pasting several layers of old papers together with flour paste.⁷

Sewing societies were formed for pleasure and to aid the soldiers and the poor. At stated intervals great quantities of clothing and supplies were sent to the soldiers in the field and to the hospitals. All women became expert in crocheting and knitting,—the occupations for leisure moments. Even when resting one was expected to be doing something. Many formed the habit of knitting in those days and keep it up until to-day, as it became second nature to have something in the hands to work with. Many women who learned then can now knit a pair of socks from beginning to end without looking at them. After dark, when one could not see to sew, spin or weave, was usually the time devoted to knitting and crocheting, which sometimes lasted until midnight. Capes, sacks, vandykes, gloves, socks and stockings, shawls, underclothes, and men's suspenders were knitted. The makers ornamented them in various ways, and the ornamentation served a useful purpose, as the thread was usually coarse and uneven and the ornamentation concealed the irregularities that would have shown in plain work. The smoothest thread that could be made was used for knitting. To make this thread the finest bolls of cotton were picked before rain had fallen on them and stained the fibre.

DYES.

The homespun cloth had to be dyed to make it look well, and as the ordinary dye materials could not be obtained substitutes were made at home from barks, leaves,

⁷ Hague, *Blockaded Family*, *passim*; Miller, 223-232; *Our Women in the War*, 275, *et seq.*; Clayton, *White and Black Under the Old Regime*, 112-149.

roots and berries. Much experimentation proved the following results: Maple and sweetgum bark with copperas produced purple; maple and redoak bark with copperas, a dove color; maple and red walnut bark with copperas, brown; sweetgum with copperas, a nearly black color; peach leaves with alum, yellow; sassafras root with copperas, drab; Smooth sumac—root, bark and berries, black; black oak bark with alum, yellow; artichoke and black oak, yellow; black oak bark with oxide of tin, pale yellow to bright orange; black oak bark with oxide of iron, drab; black oak balls in a solution of vitriol, purple to black; alder with alum, yellow; hickory bark with copperas, olive; hickory bark with alum, green; white oak bark with alum, brown; walnut roots, leaves and hulls, black. Copperas was used to "set" the dye. But when copperas was not to be had blacksmith's dust was used instead. Pine tree roots and tops, and dogwood, willow bark and indigo were also used in dyes.⁸

SHOES AND LEATHER GOODS.

Shoes for women and children were made of cloth or knitted uppers or the skins of squirrels or other small animals, fastened to leather or wooden soles. A girl considered herself very fortunate if she could get a pair of "Sunday" shoes of calf or goat skin. There were shoemakers in each community, all old men or cripples, who helped the people with their makeshifts. Shoes for men were made of horse and cow hides, and often the soles were of wood. A wooden shoe was one of the first things patented at Richmond. Carriage curtains, buggy tops and saddle skirts furnished leather for uppers, and metal protections were placed on leather soles. Little children went barefooted and

⁸ Clayton, *White and Black Under the Old Regime*; Hague, *Blockaded Family*, *passim*; Miller, 229; Jacobs, *Drug Conditions*, 16; oral accounts.

stayed indoors in winter; many grown people went bare-footed except in winter. Shoe blacking was made from soot mixed with lard, oil of ground peas or of cotton seed. This was applied to the shoe and over it a paste of flour or starch gave a good polish.

Old bonnets and hats were turned, trimmed, and worn again. Pretty hats were made of cloth or woven from dyed straw, bulrushes, corn shucks, palmetto, oat and wheat straw, bean grass, jeans, and bonnet squash, and sometimes of feathers. The rushes, shucks, palmetto and bean grass were bleached by boiling and sunning. Bits of old finery served to trim the hats as well as feathers from turkeys, ducks, pea-fowls with occasional wheat heads for plumes. Fans were made of the palmetto and of the wing feathers and wing tips of turkeys and geese. Old parasols and umbrellas were re-covered, but the majority of the people could not afford cloth for such a purpose. Hair oil was made from roses and lard. Thin haired unfortunates made braids and switches from prepared bark.

The ingenious makeshifts and substitutes of the women were innumerable. They were more original than the men in making use of what material lay ready to hand or in discovering new uses for various things. The few men at home, however, were not of the class that make discoveries or do original things. In an account of life on the farms and plantations in the South during the war the white men may almost be left out of the story.

DRUGS AND MEDICINES.

After the blockade became effective drugs became very scarce and home made preparations were substituted. All doctors became botanical practitioners. The druggist made his preparations from herbs, roots and barks gathered in the woods and fields. Manufacturing laboratories were early established at Mobile and Montgomery to make

medical preparations which were formerly procured abroad. Much attention was given to the manufacture of native preparations, which were administered by practitioners in the place of foreign drugs with favorable results. Surgeon Richard Potts, of Montgomery, Alabama, had exclusive charge of the exchange of cotton for medical supplies, and when allowed by the government to make the exchange, it was very easy for him to get drugs through the lines into Alabama and Mississippi. But this permission was too seldom given.⁹

Quinine was probably the scarcest drug. Instead of this were used dogwood berries, cotton-seed tea, chestnut and chinquapin roots and bark, willow bark, Spanish oak bark, and poplar bark. Red oak bark in cold water was used as a disinfectant and astringent for wounds. Boneset tea, butterfly or pleurisy foot tea, mandrake tea, white ash or prickly ash root, and Sampson's snake-root were used in fever cases. Local applications of mustard seed or leaves, hickory leaves, and pepper were used in cases of pneumonia and pleurisy, while sumac, poke root and berry, sassafras, alder, and prickly ash were remedies for rheumatism, neuralgia and scrofula. Black-haw root and partridge berry were used for hemorrhage; peach leaves and Sampson's snake-root for dyspepsia, and sassafras tea in the spring and fall served as a blood medicine. The balsam cucumber was used for a tonic as also was dogwood, poplar and rolled cherry bark in whiskey. Turpentine was useful as an adjunct in many cases. Hops were used for laudanum; may apple root or peach tree, leaf tea for senna; dandelion, pleurisy root and butterfly weed for calomel. Corks were made from black gum roots, corn cobs and old life preservers. Barks were gathered when the sap was running, the roots after the leaves were dead, and medicinal plants when they were in bloom.¹⁰ Opium was made from the poppy, cordials from

⁹ O. R., Ser. IV, Vol. III, 1073-1075; Jacobs, *Drug Conditions*.

¹⁰ Jacobs, *Drug Conditions*, 4-6, 12-14, 16-21.

the blackberry, huckleberry and persimmon, and wine from the elderberry.¹¹ Whisky made in the hills of North Alabama in gum log stills, formed the basis of nearly all medicinal preparations. The State had agents who looked after the proper distribution of the whisky among the counties. The castor beans raised in the garden were crushed and boiled and the oil skimmed off.¹²

GOVERNMENT COTTON.

The government bought cotton, paying for it in bonds, and collected great quantities of it at Montgomery, Mobile, Selma, Demopolis, Columbus, Ga., and other towns. The people were warned not to let their cotton fall into the hands of the enemy; it must even be burned to prevent this. It was never regarded as private property by

¹¹ Hague, *Blockaded Family*.

¹² Jacobs, *Drug Conditions*. Besides those mentioned above the following remedies and substitutes were used: raspberry leaves, peach tree leaves or peach seed, red oak, blackberry and dewberry roots for astringents; agrimony tea, and a solution of nut gall or ink ball for skin diseases; lobelia for an emetic and for coughs, croup and asthma; onion and garlic and pond-lily for poultices; pepper, sage and poke-root for glandular enlargements. Cockle-burr roots and leaves for the liver and for hemorrhage; calamus, catnip and root teas for infants' troubles; fennel-seed tea instead of paragoric; red oak bark and alum for rash; sweet gum and suet as a salve for burns, etc. Toothache bark for toothache and snakebites; buck-eye lotion for ulcers; cotton seed decoction for inflammation; cotton roots for asthma; the buds and inside bark of the long-leaf pine for coughs and colds and as a diuretic. Water melon and gourd seed served as a diuretic; powdered May-apple with resin as a caustic; sweet-shrub in chills and fevers; sumac as a gargle in fever; holly-leaves as an emetic; love-vine tea as a laxative. Potato bugs were used instead of Spanish flies; wild jalop instead of aloes, jalop and ipecac; mulberry bark and wild potato vine instead of aloes; blood-root, wild cherry, jasmine instead of digitalis; water melon seed instead of flaxseed; dogwood instead of chamomile; cotton-root instead of ergot; apple, pear, and peach gum instead of gum Arabic; sumac instead of tannin; peanut oil, and cotton seed oil instead of olive oil; Jamestown (Jimson) weed instead of belladonna; lady slipper instead of valerian.—Jacobs, *Drug Conditions*, 4-6, 12-14, 16-21; Hague, *Blockaded Family*, *passim*; *Our Women in the War*; Ball, *Clarke County*; Miller, *Alabama*.

the Federals, but was seized and sold or burned if the owner could not carry it away to a place of safety.¹³ Much of the cotton was nominally bought by the government or subscribed to the Produce Loan, and yet was not removed from the plantation where it was raised. Hence, after the war many disputes arose between the owners and the "cotton" agents of the U. S. treasury.

SOCIAL LIFE.

Life in the towns was not so monotonous as in the country. In the larger ones, especially in Mobile, there was a forced gayety throughout the war. Many marriages took place and each wedding was usually the occasion of social festivities. In the country "homespun" weddings were the fashion—all parties at the wedding laying clad in homespun. Colonel Thomas Dabney dined in Montgomery in November, 1864, with Mr. Woodleaf, a refugee from New Orleans. "They gave me," he said, "a fine dinner, good for any time, and some extra fine music afterwards, according to the Italian, Spanish, and French books, for we had some of each sort done up in true opera fashion, I suppose. It was a *leetle* too foreign for my ear, but that was my fault, and not the fault of the music."¹⁴ The people were too busy for much amusement, yet on the surface life was not gloomy. Work was made as pleasant as possible, though it could never be made play. The women were never idle, and they often met together to work. There were sewing societies which met once a week for work and exchange of news. "Quiltings" were held at irregular intervals, to which every woman came armed with needle and thimble. At other times there would be "spinning bees" to which the women would come from long distances and stay

¹³ Annual *Cyclopaedia* (1862); Moore, *Rebellion Record, Supplement*; Gov. Shorter's Proclamation, 1863.

¹⁴ Smedes, *A Southern Planter*, 226.

all day, bringing with them in wagons their wheels, cards and cotton. When a soldier came home on furlough or sick leave, every woman in the community went to see him, carrying her work with her, and knitted, sewed, or spun while listening to news from the army. The holiday soldier, the "bomb proof," and the "feather bed" received little mercy from the women. A thorough contempt was his portion. "Furlough" wounds came to receive slight sympathy.¹⁵ The soldiers always brought messages from their comrades to their relatives in the community, which was the only way of hearing from those in the army. Letters were uncertain, the postal system never being good in the country districts. Postage was ten to twenty cents on a letter, and one to five cents on small newspapers. Letters from the army gave news of the men of the settlement who were in the writer's company or regiment, and when received were read to the neighbors or sent around the community. Often when a young man came home on furlough or passed through the country there would be many social gatherings or "parties" in his honor, and here the young people gathered. There were parties for the older men, too, and dinners and suppers. Here the soldier met again his neighbors, or rather the feminine half of them, anxious to hear his experiences and to inquire about friends and relatives in the army. The young people also met at night at "corn shuckings" and "candy pullings" from which they managed to extract a good deal of pleasure. At the social gatherings, especially of the older people, some kind of work was always going on. Parching pindars to eat and making peanut candy were amusements for children after supper.

¹⁵ In the early part of the war when a soldier received a slight wound he was given a furlough for a few weeks until he was well again. Slight wounds came to be called "furloughs," and some soldiers when particularly homesick are said to have exposed themselves unnecessarily in order to get a "furlough."

THE WOMEN AND THE INVADERS.

The intense devotion of the women to the Confederate cause was most irritating to a certain class of Federal officers in the army that invaded North Alabama. They seemed to think that they had conquered entrance into society, but the women were determined to show their colors on all occasions and often had trouble when boorish officers were in command. A society woman would lose her social position if seen in the company of Federal officers. When passing them the women averted their faces and swept aside their skirts to prevent any contact with the hated Yankee. They played and sang Confederate airs on all occasions and were ordered by the military authorities to discontinue. It usually took a guard of soldiers to keep them from offending in this way. The Federal officers who acted in a gentlemanly manner toward the non-combatants were accused by their rude fellows and by ruder newspaper correspondents of being "wound round the fingers of the rebel women," who had some object to gain. When the people of a community were especially contemptuous of the Federals they were sometimes punished by having a negro regiment stationed as a garrison. Athens, in Limestone county, one of the most intensely Southern towns, was garrisoned by a regiment of negroes recruited in the immediate vicinity.¹⁶

LIFE AMONG THE NEGROES.

For the negroes in the Black Belt life went on much as before the war. More responsibility was placed upon the trusty ones and they proved themselves worthy of the trust. They were acquainted with the questions at issue and knew that their freedom would probably follow victory by the North. Yet the black overseer and

¹⁶ See *Boston Journal*, September 29, 1864; November 15, 1864.

the black preacher, with their fellow slaves, went on with their work. The master's family lived on the large plantation with no other whites within miles and never felt fear of harm from their black guardians. The negroes had their dances and possum hunts on Saturday nights after the week's work was done. There was preaching and singing on Sunday, the whites often attending the negro services and *vice versa*. Negro weddings took place in the "big house." The young mistresses would adorn the bride and the ceremony would be performed by the old white clergyman, after which the wedding supper would be served in the family diningroom or out under the trees. These were great occasions for the negroes and for the young people of the master's family. The sound of fiddle and banjo, songs and laughter was always heard in the "quarters" after work was done, though Saturday night was the great time for merry-making. In July and August, after the crops were "laid by," the negroes had barbecues and picnics. To these the whites were invited and they always attended. The materials for these feasts were furnished by the mistress and by the negroes themselves who had garden patches, pigs, and poultry. The slaves were on the whole happy and content.

The clothes for the slaves were made under the superintendence of the mistress, who after the war began, often cut out the clothes for every negro on the place and sometimes assisted in making them. Some of the negro women had spinning wheels and looms and clothed their own families, while others spun, wove, and made their clothes under the direction of the mistress. But most of them could not be trusted with the materials, because they were so unskillful. It took a month or two twice a year to get the negroes into their new outfits. The rule was that each negro should have two suits of heavy material for winter wear and two of light goods for summer. To clothe the negroes, during the war time, was a heavy burden upon the mistress.

U O P B

To those negroes who did their own cooking rations were issued on Saturday afternoon. Bacon and corn meal formed the basis of the ration, besides which there would be some kind of "sweetening" and a substitute for coffee.¹⁷ Special goodies were issued for Sunday. The negroes in the Black Belt fared better during the war than either the whites or the negroes in the white counties. Where there were few slaves or in time of great scarcity the cooking for whites and blacks was often done in the house kitchen by the same cooks. This was in order to leave more time for the negroes to work and to prevent waste. Where there were many slaves there was often some arrangement made by which cooking was done in common, though there were numbers of families that did their own cooking at home all the time. When meat was scarce it was given to the negro laborers who needed the strength while the white family and the negro women and children denied themselves.

WOMAN'S WORK FOR THE SOLDIERS.

The Confederate government did not provide well for the soldiers and their wives and mothers had to supply them. The sewing societies undertook to clothe the soldiers who went from the neighborhood. Once a week or once a month a box was sent from each society. One box sent to the Grove Hill Guards contained sixty pairs of socks, twenty-five blankets, thirteen pairs of gloves, fourteen flannel shirts, sixteen towels, two handkerchiefs, five pairs of trousers, and one bushel of dried apples. Other boxes contained about the same. Hams and any other edibles that would keep were frequently sent, and also simple medicine chests. When blankets could not be had, quilts were sent, or heavy curtains and pieces of carpet. With the progress of the war there was much suffering among the soldiers and their destitute families that the State could do but little to relieve, and the women took up the task. Besides the various church aid

¹⁷ See Mrs. Clayton's *Black and White* in regard to rations for negroes.

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societies we hear of the "Grove Hill Military Aid Society," and the "Suggsville Soldiers' Aid Society," both of Clarke county; the "Aid Society of Mobile;" the "Montgomery Home Society," and the "Soldiers' Wayside Home," in Montgomery; the "Wayside Hospital," and the "Ladies' Military Aid Society" of Selma; the "Talladega Hospital," the "Ladies' Humane Society," of Huntsville,¹⁸ and many others. The legislature gave financial aid to some of them. Societies were formed in every town, village and country settlement to send clothing, medicines and provisions to the soldiers in the army and to the hospitals. The members went to hospitals and parole camps for sick and wounded soldiers, took them to their homes and nursed them back to health. "Wayside Homes" were established in the towns for the accommodation of soldiers travelling to and from the army. Soldiers on sick leave and furlough who were cut off from their homes beyond the Mississippi came to the homes of their comrades sure of a warm welcome and kind attention until the shattered health was repaired. Poor soldiers sick at home were looked after and supplies sent to their needy families.

RELIEF OF SOLDIER'S FAMILIES.

The last year of the war a bushel of corn cost \$13.00, while a soldier's pay was \$11.00 a month, paid once in a while. So the poor people became destitute. But the State furnished meal and salt to all¹⁹ and the more fortunate people gave liberally of their supplies. Many of the poorer white women did work for others—weaving, sewing and spinning for which they were well paid, frequently in provisions, which they were in great need of. Some made hats, bonnets and baskets for sale. The cotton counties supported many refugees from the northern counties and many poor people from that section imposed upon the

¹⁸ See Acts of Ala., Nov. 28 and 30, 1861; Dec. 9, 1862, and Dec. 8, 1863.

¹⁹ It was estimated that one-fourth of the people of the State were furnished for three years with meal and salt.

generosity of the planting section. The overseers, white or black, had a dislike for those to whom supplies were given; they also objected to the regular payment of the tax-in-kind, and to impressment which took their corn, meat, horses, cows, mules, negroes, and crippled their operations. The mistresses had to interfere and see that the poor and the government had their share.

In the cities the women engaged in various patriotic occupations,—sewing for the soldiers, nursing, raising money for hospitals, etc. The women of Tuskegee raised money to be spent on a gunboat for the defense of Mobile Bay. They wanted it called “The Women’s Gunboat.”²⁰ “A niece of James Madison” wrote to a Mobile paper proposing that 200,000 women in the South sell their hair in Europe to raise funds for the Confederacy. The movement failed because of the blockade.²¹ There were other similar propositions, but they could not be carried out, and year after year the legislatures of the state thanked the women for their patriotic devotion, their labors, sacrifices, constancy, and courage.

CHANGING TEMPER OF THE PEOPLE.

The music and songs that were popular during the war show the changing temper of the people. At first were heard joyous airs, later contemptuous and defiant as war came on; then jolly war songs and strong hymns of encouragement. But as sorrow followed sorrow until all were stricken; as wounds, sickness, imprisonment and death of friends and relatives cast shadow over the spirits of the people; as hopes were dashed by defeat, and the consciousness came that perhaps after all the cause was losing,—the iron entered into the souls of the people. The songs were sadder now. The

²⁰ Moore, *Rebellion Record*, Vol. IV, (1862).

²¹ New York *News*, March 29, 1864, from the Richmond *Whig*, from the Mobile *Evening News*; oral accounts. There were numbers of women who actually cut off their hair thinking that it could be sold through blockade. For a while they were hopeful and enthusiastic in regard to the plan of selling their hair.

church hymns heard were the soul comforting ones and the militant songs of the other churchmen. The first year were heard "Farewell to Brother Jonathan," "We Conquer or We Die." Then "Riding a Raid," "Stonewall Jackson's Way," "All Quiet Along the Potomac," "Lorena," "Beecher Brook," "Somebody's Darling," "When the Cruel War is O'er," "Guide Me, O Thou Great Jehovah." Dixie was sung and played during the entire time, whites and blacks singing it with equal pleasure. The older solemn hymns were sung and the doctrines of faith and good works earnestly preached. The promises were perhaps more emphasized. A deeply religious feeling prevailed among the home workers for the cause.

The women had the harder task. The men were in the field in active service; their families were safe at home; there was no fear for themselves. The women lived in constant dread of news from the front; they had to sit still and wait; and their greatest comfort was the hard work they had to do. It gave them some relief from the burden of sorrow that weighed down the souls of all. To the very last, the women hoped and prayed for success, and failure, to many of them, was more bitter than death. The loss of their cause hurt them more deeply than it did the men who had the satisfaction of fighting out the quarrel, even though the other side was victorious.²²

²² P. A. Hague's *Blockaded Family* is the best account of life in Alabama during the War. Mrs. Clayton's *Black and White Under the Old Regime* is very good but brief. *Our Women in the War* is a valuable collection of articles by a number of women. Nearly all the incidents mentioned I have heard related by relatives and friends. John Holden, *Unionist*, by T. C. De Leon, gives a good account of life in the hill country. Mary A. H. Gay's *Life in Dixie During the War* and Miller's *History of Alabama* give information based on personal experiences. A recent volume—*South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*—is a collection of contemporary accounts of life in the interior of the Confederacy and with names changed would describe perfectly well the conditions that existed in Alabama. Porcher's *Resources of the Southern Fields and Forests*, published in 1863, is a mine of information in regard to economic conditions in the South. Porcher quotes much from the newspapers and from correspondence. The second edition published in 1867 omits much of the more interesting material.

TEXAS REVOLUTION DOCUMENTS.

REASONS FROM BOTH SIDES IN THE TEXAS REVOLUTION—DOCUMENTS, 1835.

AMERICAN VIEWS.

[As so generally with Anglo-Saxon upheavals, the Texans placed their cause on the ground of justice. They claimed certain rights under the Mexican constitution, and they were willing to stake all in defense of their position. Some acts of aggression mentioned in the following pages seemed to them to indicate the final destruction of their liberties. Like their forefathers they innately had "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind" that prompted them to state their reasons for action. Later they put forth their all-embracing official utterances like the Declaration of Independence but some of these earlier deliverances are sufficiently important to merit attention as types, if no more. The rhetoric is both turgid and awkward in the main, but the resolutions of the San Jacinto meeting of Aug. 8, 1835, may be considered scholarly, if we allow for the stress and excitement of the times. Although some of these documents have already been published, in a newspaper not readily accessible, they seem worthy of re-issue, especially in connection with the unpublished ones.]

MILAM TO JOHNSON.

PUNTO LAMPASES, *July 5, 1835.*

DEAR JOHNSON:

I hope you spent the 4th July pleasantly with your friends who feel some reverence for the day. As to myself, I cannot say that I enjoyed it. I got a bottle of *vino muscale* and drank to the *Federal Constitution in all parts of America*. I had no countrymen to join me or perhaps I should have done better.

We left Monclova on the 29th of May, and were taken prisoners on the 5th of June, at night, after we had encamped about eight leagues northwest of San Fernando. The troops had been viewing our march for the last day, and knew the only chance we had for water and placed them-

seives in a situation to take possession of our horses as soon as it was dusk. In this situation we were obliged to surrender to twenty-five men—or savages, as we may more properly call them. Capt. Galar and Lieut. Roderiguiz commanded the party. They will be long remembered by your humble servant.

We were taken to San Fernando and kept in close confinement for one week—not permitted to write or speak to any person except in the presence of an officer, and then but in the Spanish language. From there we were taken to Rio Grande, where we were treated something better by Capt. Barigan. From Rio Grande to this place. At present we are under the charge of Col. Altapa, who is a gentleman and an officer, and gives every indulgence we ask for. From here we expect to be sent to Monterey to stand our trial, and I hope to be set at liberty. But all is uncertainty.

The whole of this part of the state has and will support the central Government. The Interior from the last information we have, has fallen into the central system, Santana is Dictator. The constitution is thrown away, and ridiculed by those who used to call themselves Federal Republicans.

The plan for the dissolution and destruction is laid, and every preparation is making for its execution. In the last ten days two hundred troops have left this quarter for San Antonio; and from the best information I can collect two thousand more will be on their march in a few weeks. Their intention is to gain the friendship of the different tribes of Indians, and if possible to get the slaves to revolt. These plans of barbarity and injustice will make a wilderness of Texas, and beggars of its inhabitants, if they do not unite and act with promptitude and decision. If the Federal system is lost in Texas, what will be our situation? worse than that of the most degraded slaves. The hopes of the Republican party here are all on Texas. I trust they will not be

deceived. The people of Texas will never submit to a Dictator.

Yours,
B. R. MILAM.¹

AYUNTAMIENTO OF NACOGDOCHES.

The Ayuntamiento of this municipality in session assembled at the request of a committee, appointed by the committee of vigilance and Safety of this Town. The members present, Radford Berry, prs. Geo Pottitt second regidor, Anto. Manchaca Sindico procurado & Juan M. Dor Srio.

The session was opened and the following proposals unanimously adopted,

Whereas we the representatives of the people of this municipality, and invested with the charge of their sacred [*sacred* inserted with pencil] rights and felicities [*felicities* marked out with pencil], and it being evidently proven to our satisfaction as well as to the community at large, that our rights have bin, and are, now intruded on by Gen. San Tanna and his partisans, in attempting to change the form of our Government, and establish that of a central, or Military one, a government which can never exist over freemen and as such is the case, we pledge ourselves in support of the constitution of 1824 [*of 1824* marked out] and laws emanating from it, and positively refuse to acknowledge or obey anny other powers, than those guaranteed by the same Therefore be it understood that we recommend to the people of this municipality, to turn out in defence of their wrights which have bin guaranteed to them and ever should be held unimpaired; And we mos cincerly Solicit the ade of our Mexican fellow-citizens, who in this municipality (alone in Texas) have up to this time Shown a disposition to remain silent.

Yours Resp.²

¹ From a manuscript copy made by Mrs. Holly—Austin Papers.

² MS., Nacogdoches Archives. File Box 47, 1729.

HARRISBURG MEETING (JULY 14).

At a meeting of the citizens of Harrisburg and its vicinity pursuant to a notice of the Political Chief of this Department, on the 14th day of July; Capt. John W. Moore was called to the Chair and Meriweather W. Smith appointed Secretary:—

On motion: Resolved, that the chairman appoint a committee of five persons to draft resolutions to report to the meeting; whereupon the following gentlemen were appointed, viz., Dr. David Gallaher, Mr. Edward Wray, Mr. Nathaniel J. Dobie, Mr. Thomas A. S. Pratt, and Mr. Isaac Batterson.

On motion, Resolved: That the Chairman and Secretary be added to that committee.

Address of M. W. Smith to the Chairman and Meeting: Mr. Chairman, and Fellow-Citizens:

We have convened this day for the purpose of taking into consideration the present important and critical situation in which your country and rights as freemen are placed; you are now about to be deprived of your rights and liberties by the usurpation of General Santa Ana; he has declared himself supreme Dictator; he has declared the congress creatures of his own will; he has siezed upon a majority of the States and compelled them to surrender. He has marched his troops into Zacatecas—into that state which was well known for its true patriotism, and compelled them to surrender up their arms, and retain only one to every five hundred souls; and also the public funds to the amount of three million.

He is now concentrating his forces in Saltillo for the purpose of marching to Texas to subdue us, but we will meet him on the banks of the Rio del No[r]te, & there bleach our bones, or Texas shall be free. Fellow-citizens we have nothing to fear, whatever our numbers may be; the justice

of our cause will sustain us and we will call to the recollection of the usurpers that Caesar had his Brutus, Charles 1st his Cromwell, George 3d his Washington, Irtbide and Bustamentes (of more recent date) their Santa Ana; and Santa Ana will, I trust, find in some son of Washington a corrector of his errors. Let us all unite in one and cry, down with Despotism and the Military; and the diadem will hardly encircle the brow of the Dictator ere some republican hero will raise up and hurl it under foot.

And I hope the people will keep awake for this great Cat, who is the builder up and the puller down of Republics—and let the people of Texas bear well in mind the fable of the bundle of sticks “United we stand—divided we fall.”

On motion, the committee adjourned until 5 o'clock to draft and report resolutions.

The committee met agreeable to adjournment and begged leave respectfully to submit the following resolutions:

1st. Resolved, that we the settlers were invited by the free people of Mexico to participate in their rights and liberties, with the charter of rights before us, the Federal Constitution; which invitation we accepted in good faith and under the solemnity of an oath promised to support it, inasmuch [as] we regard it violated, it is our right, indeed our duty to sustain its principles.

2nd. Resolved that our Constitution and rights as free-men are now about to be prostrated by the power of General Santa Ana. We call aloud to all the republicans of Mexico to rally around the Constitution and support it with their property and their lives, and endeavor to gather the scattered fragments of that Constitution which has been the boast of one of the proudest nations of the earth.

3rd. Resolved, That the Political Chiefs of the different Departments invite Ramon Musquiz, Lieutenant Governor to Texas and draft as many troops as will be necessary to march to his assistance and conduct him to San Felipe de

Austin and sustain him in the administration of the Constitution.

4th. Resolved, That if any citizen leave Texas during this her struggle, his property shall be confiscated for the public good.

5th. Resolved, That if any foreigner who will enroll his name in any of the volunteer companies & serve during her struggles, shall be entitled to one thousand acres of land to be located upon any of the unappropriated lands of Texas.

6th. Resolved, That a committee of three persons be appointed for the present for the purpose of meeting and communicating with the Political Chiefs on all matters of public concern.

On motion, Resolved, That Capt. John W. Moore, Meriweather W. Smith, and Dr. G. M. Patrick compose that committee, but in the event of the absence of one or more of the committee the one present has the power to supply the vacancy or vacancies.

On motion of Dr. B. T. Archer, the thanks of the meeting be given to the Chairman and Secretary.

On motion of Nathaniel J. Dobie the meeting adjourned.

JOHN W. MOORE, *Chairman*,
MERIWEATHER W. SMITH, *Secretary*.^a

THE PRESENT CRITICAL STATE OF TEXAS (JULY 25).

Never was there a moment since the colonization of this fair country by our fellow-citizens when it was more in danger than the present.

.....But alas! in the circle of revolutions by which military misrule has devoted that fine country almost to a ruin, the last, under St. Ana, has trampled liberty to the dust. The fall of the noble state of Zacatecas was the signal for Texas.— Flushed by his victories, and assuming su-

^a From *The Texas Republican*, August 22, 1835.

preme command, he has formed the design of driving the foreigners from the soil of his country. This military despot. is now about to enter Texas with an army to murder, destroy, and drive from the country those who were invited there, and who raised from a wilderness that which is now a flourishing, happy, and contented people.

We understand that several highly respectable citizens of Texas are now in this city [New Orleans], and others are hourly expected. Upon their arrival a general meeting will be called to take in consideration the dreadful state of our friends, relations and once fellow-citizens, and adopt such measures for their relief in the present emergency as affection may dictate and justice require.⁴

SAN JACINTO RESOLUTIONS.

At a meeting of the citizens of San Jacinto held pursuant to a notice on Saturday 8th day of August 1835, to confer upon the present situation of public affairs, Capt. William Scott was called to the chair and Col. David B. Macomb was appointed Secretary.

David G. Burnet Esqr. briefly explained the objects of the meeting, whereupon:

It was moved, That a committee of five be appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of this meeting in relation to the present condition of the country and the propriety of calling a General Convention as soon as practicable.

The following gentlemen were appointed said committee:

David G. Burnet, James Ruth, Philip Singleton, Doctor Gallaher, David B. Macomb.

The committee retired and after consultation reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

⁴ Reprinted in *The Texas Republican*, August 22, 1835, from the *Louisiana Adv. [ocate]*, July 25, 1835.

Whereas we have heard with profound regret, that the federal republican government of Mexico has been violently dissolved; that the constitutions of the several free and independent States composing that confederation have been declared abrogate and void; that the late President of the Republic, General Santa Ana, has been invested with extraordinary, dictatorial powers, and a central consolidated government has been established at the City of Mexico; that the civic militia of the nation has been disarmed and disbanded; that some of our Sister States have been invaded by military force and the blood of their citizens profusely shed [to] coerce them into submission to the new administration; and that a similar invasion is contemplated, and is now in preparation to be made upon Texas; therefore the citizens of the precinct of San Jacinto assembled to deliberate upon the solemn crisis in our public affairs have adopted the following resolutions as indicative of our views and feelings: and we do earnestly recommend the mature consideration of the same subject to our fellow-citizens of Texas generally.

Resolved, That the original, proper and legitimate objects of government are the convenience, the happiness and the prosperity of the people. That whereas a form of government shall be manifestly proven inadequate to the attainment of these objects, it is competent for the people to modify, amend or radically change that form of government.— These we hold to be obvious and irrefragible truths, and we also hold it to be equally true, whenever a portion of a people think proper to subvert an established Government and to substitute a mere dynasty, it belongs of right to another portion of the same people to reject the new system and adhere to the old, or to adopt such other form of Govt., as their circumstances or predilections may recommend.— That the dissolution of the government is virtually a dissolution of the political union; and the parts that compose that union being sundered, each one reverts to its original sovereignty.

That this is emphatically true of an association of free and independent States, as was the late confederation of Mexico.

Resolved, that confiding in the correctness of the information we have received from various quarters, we consider the federal Republican Government of the Mexican United States as subverted, dissolved, annihilated: and that the allegiance of every citizen to that Government is, necessarily, absolved and of no more political or moral obligation.

Resolved, that in these painful and embarrassing circumstances it becomes the duty of every citizen to deliberate calmly, dispassionately, *and with a full knowledge of facts*, and to scrutinize with a zealous caution the present condition, and the prospective well being of Texas, before he resolves to precipitate himself and his country in all the multiplied and tremendous horrors of a civil war.

Resolved, That although we consider it premature to pronounce definitely upon the new Government, established or to be established, at the city of Mexico, because the particular constitution of that government has not been made known to us, we are ready now and at all times to declare our utter abhorrence of any Government that is purely military in its character: and are now and at all times ready to resist the imposition of such a Government with all the means and all the energies that Providence has conferred upon us— That we consider even the turbulence of a distracted republic incomparably preferable to that sickly quietude of a military despotism, or to the still more odious denomination of a secularized and ambitious priesthood.

Resolved, that we nevertheless entertain a cheering confidence in the distinguished leading citizens of our adopted country that they will not permit the land of their birth and their affections to loose the dear bought benefits of so many revolutions, by one inglorious revolution retrograde; by a sudden transition from light to darkness, from liberty to despotism. That they will organize a system of Government

in accordance with the spirit of the 19th century; a Government based upon wise and equitable laws, with such a distribution of the three cardinal powers as will assure to each individual all the guarantees necessary to rational political liberty.

Resolved, That we have marked with surprise a disposition to attribute the late movements of the General Government to a recent reported speculation in the lands of Texas, and to charge the speculators as the authors of the present disquietudes— That we reprobate all nefarious and fraudulent speculations in the public domain as warmly as any portion of our fellow-citizens can do: but we can perceive only a short-sighted puerility [?] in attributing radical changes in the Government of Mexico to the intrigues of a few speculators in the town of Monclova— That we hope and believe that the laws are adequate to the redress of any wrongs the State may have sustained, the corruption of its functionaries, or the no less culpable frauds of its citizens in relation to its vacant territory.

Resolved, that we deem it altogether inexpedient and highly injurious to court a contest with the Government of Mexico. That we have always considered and do still consider the aggregate Mexican Nation the rightful sovereign of the territory we occupy— That nothing short of an absolute determinate violation of those essential, sacred, and unprescriptible rights which pertain to us as members of society should induce the Anglo-American citizens of Texas to abstract themselves and the noble soil which the Mexican nation has so liberally conceded to them from the sovereignty of that nation. That while we feel it a just duty to guard our just rights and vital interests from all infringement; we also feel it a sacred obligation to preserve our names untarnished by the imputation of parricidal ingratitude.

Resolved, that we consider *names* as the mere signification of *things*: and that we are not so obstinately prejudiced in

favor of the term, "federal republic" as peremptorily and without inquiry to reject another Government purely because it has assumed a different external sign or denomination.

Resolved, that there are certain essential, sacred and imprescriptible rights which must be guaranteed to every citizen, under any form of government that can or ought to be tolerated by an intelligent people who know how to estimate the inherent dignity of their nature.— That we believe those rights may be as well secured under a consolidated as under a federative government, provided that government be wisely and liberally organized.—

Resolved, That frequent revolutions in a nation are greatly to be deprecated— That experience has clearly demonstrated that the federal republican system of Mexico has been utterly insufficient to restrain the corrupt ambition of turbulent and factious men, to preserve the internal happiness, or to advance the prosperity of the nation.— That that form of government is intrinsically complex, requiring for its harmonious and efficient operation an unusual degree of general knowledge and sound moral sentiment in the people at large. That in our native country which justly boasts of its diffused intelligence and high moral feeling, illustrious patriots differ in their construction of the relative powers of the general and state governments and find the *involvements* of the federal system too intricate for coincidence of opinion and too perplexed for unity of action.

Resolved, that although we hold the propositions set forth in the preceding resolutions to be true and of special application to our present political condition, we do not feel prepared with out imperfect knowledge of facts, to make any definite and conclusive election touching the new form of government that may be established at the city of Mexico: either to accept, or to reject thereof.

Resolved, that the dissolution of a government does not of necessity requisite that the constituent parts of the nation should separate finally. That the abstract right to do a thing does not always render the doing of it wise or commendable. That although the citizens of Texas may have the *political* right to reject the new Government of Mexico, and to adopt one more consonant to their habits and feelings, we do very seriously question the policy of doing so, unless constrained by imperious circumstances, such as, we trust, do not and will not exist. That as *adopted* citizens, we ought to exercise even our absolute rights with some diffidence, and with a peculiar regard to the moral obligations that may rest upon us.

Resolved, That inasmuch as it is impracticable for a people so dispersed as are the people of Texas to act collectively and in unison in any public exigency requiring deliberation and interchange of opinions, we conceive it expedient that a convention to consist of two delegates from each precinct be elected, and to assemble with all convenient expedition at the town of San Felipe de Austin, or some other convenient point, to confer on the state of public affairs to devise and carry into execution such measures as may be necessary to preserve good order, and the due administration of the laws; to collect and distribute information relative to the nature and the operation of the new Government of Mexico; to communicate with the authorities of that Government; and to adopt and to carry into execution such ultimate measures as in their wisdom may seem meet and proper; and conducive to the substantial, permanent welfare of Texas: Strictly enjoy[n]ing it upon each and all of the delegates so to be convened, to preserve by all possible means, compatible with the character of a free people, *the peace of Texas and the unity of the Mexican nation.*

On motion it was

Resolved, That this meeting nominate and appoint two

suitable individuals to represent this precinct in General Convention; whereupon the following gentlemen were appointed: David G. Burnet, David B. Macomb.

On motion it was

Resolved, That a copy of these proceedings with the preamble and resolutions be transmitted to the Political Chief of the Department, and also to the Editor of the Texas Republican, with a request that they be published in that paper.

WM. SCOTT, *Chairman.*

DAVID B. MACOMB, *Secretary.*⁵

MEXICAN VIEWS.

[As so often with those in authority at the approach of a crisis, the Mexican ruler does not seem to realize the fermentation going on under the surface. He can think of nothing but flat denials and contemptuous comments and smooth generalities.]

COS TO THE POLITICAL CHIEFS OF TEXAS.

GENERAL COMMANDANCY AND GENERAL

INSPECTION OF THE INTERIOR OF THE EAST.

Under this date I have to say to the Political Chiefs of the Departments of Bexar, Brazos, and Nacogdoches, the following:

The entire want of police for sometime past in Texas has necessarily contributed to the introduction of many men without country, morality, or any employment to gain a subsistence; who having nothing to venture in a revolution are continually occupied in fighting the flame of discord and endeavoring to persuade the honest people of Texas that the Supreme National Government entertain views and intentions hostile and fatally prejudicial to their interests.

As this unheard of falsehood might precipitate good citizens to confound themselves with the perverse, I believe it

⁵ From *The Texas Republican*, September 19, 1835.

to be my duty to save them; appealing to their..... judgment for the rejection of those vile suggestions, and entreating them to think only of the augmenting of their property, respecting always the Laws of the Land; in this case they always have the support of the General Government and every kind of guarantee which the General Commandancy can give.

I have been informed that creditious [seditious?] persons in order to gain their [ends] endeavor to make the entrance of Troops from the President of the Republic thither to be looked upon as the commencement of military subjection.

If this extravagant idea has blinded the incautious, the sound part of the people must have rejected it as it deserves, because it is not credible that assent can be given to an imputation so unjust.

As the principles are well known which guided the march of the Mexican Government, and their desire for the prosperity of Texas, to whose inhabitants it has made every kind of concession, and if it be necessary in order to establish the Custom Houses, to station military detachments among us: this should in no wise alarm the people of Texas; since far from being prejudicial to their interests they will serve as a support and the people will have a guard more in favor of than against their security.

On the other hand it is evident that some badly disposed persons have been able to induce the belief that the Mexican Government has no right to send its troops to those places where they think it necessary.

Texas is an integrant part of the Republic and as the troops are ordered For example to garrison the state of Oaxaca or Vera Cruz, tomorrow they may be necessary in Galveston, or some other port and there they will be received without any resistance, as it would be very approbious to the Mexicans for the new inhabitants of Texas to contem-

plate the national army in the same way as the Egyptians looked upon the Mamelukes, their continual depredators.

You will please make the honest residents of this department understand that so long as they remain attached to the Government and the Laws they have nothing to fear; as an armed force is sent to no part of the Republic with any other object than to maintain the peace and security of the citizens.

Whatever pretensions the inhabitants may have they will please manifest them by legal means to the Government, and I offer to support them, provided they be such as can be realized, as to me is entrusted the tranquility of the States of the East.

I cannot fail to stimulate your patriotism and your zeal to prevent your influence and your persuasion to any alteration whatever as this General Commandancy feeling very sensible the neglect of its indicating, will be obliged to proceed against those who overturn the peace which is now fortunately enjoyed in every part of the nation.

You will please proceed as I have indicated, and be assured of the particular consideration and esteem which I profess.

Circulated to you for your knowledge.

God and liberty.

MARTIN PERFECTO DE COS.

Matamoras, July 12th, 1835.

To the Illustrious Ayuntamiento of Brazoria.*

The Editor remarks that: "Though the literal translation may be given, it contains some very awkward sentences."

* From *The Texas Republican*, August 22, 1835.

THE QUAKER JANNEYS OF CHESHIRE AND THEIR PROGENITORS.

BY MILES WHITE, JR., Baltimore, Md.

(To Be Continued.)

[In 1878 the late Samuel M. Janney, of Loudoun county, Virginia, published a Chart or Family Tree of the descendants of two of the sons of Thomas Janney, who with his wife Margery and their four sons, in 1683, removed from Cheshire, England, and settled in Bucks county, Pennsylvania. Several years ago I began to collect data that would fill out and bring to a later date this genealogy. In doing which I ascertained that other members of the Janney family, of Cheshire, also came to America in colonial days and settled in Pennsylvania and Maryland; that all the surviving children of the youngest of Thomas and Margery Janney's sons settled in Virginia after their father's death; and that several of the children of two of the other sons also moved to Virginia, though all of these last mentioned children did not permanently settle there.

As a result of this investigation genealogical articles concerning several of the families with which the early American Janneys intermarried, have been published;¹ and in the following article is presented an account of some of the English ancestors of the various early Janney colonists; and also some facts about these colonists themselves, the descendants of whom are now very numerous, and many are at present living in Maryland and Virginia, and various Southern States.—MILES WHITE, JR.]

Whence the Cheshire Janneys originally came, or when and in what part of the county they first settled, I believe to be unknown at present. The first mention of any of the name in this county, which I have seen, was during the XIVth Century; and in the XVth Century they were widely scattered throughout the Palatinate. When the family ceased to reside in Cheshire I know not, but it appears that at the present day there are no persons living there who

¹ "William Haige," *Penna. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Vol. XXIV; "Some Colonial Ancestors of Johns Hopkins," *PUBLICATIONS, So. Hist. Assoc.*, Vol. IV; "Henry Baker and Some of His Descendants," *Ibid.*, Vol. V; "William Biles," *Penna. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Vol. XXVI; "Thomas Janney, Provincial Councillor," *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII.

spell their names Janney, though some claim that the Jennings of the present time are descendants of the ancient family of Janney: and in New England, in 1623, in a division of lands, in Plymouth, the name Jenny reads Jenings, apparently supporting this claim.^{1a}

The name of Janney or Jenney has been spelled in many ways at different times and places, Thomas Jenye, the rebel and poet, who flourished 1565-1583, and seems to have been a native of York, and whose name also appears as² Jeny, Jenny, Jennings, Genys and Genynges being a good example; and in Lancashire and Cheshire the following names have been found, most, if not all of which, are forms of the same family name, viz., Janion, Janney, Janny, Jannye, Jannyon, Jannyne, Jannys, Jenion, Jenney, Jenny, Jennys, Jenyngs, Jenyus, Jenys, Guynes, Gynes, Gynney, Gynny, Yannes and Yannis.

Lower's *Patronymica Britannica* states that "The family of Jenney of Bredfield, co. Suffolk, are supposed to be of French extraction, and the name to be derived from Guisnes near Calais. * * * The name of this family was originally spelt Gyney."

It appears from Shirley's *Noble and Gentle Men of England*, Burke's *Landed Gentry*, and Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, that the Jenneys of Bredfield, co. Suffolk; Drayton Beauchamp, co. Bucks; Great Cressingham, co. Norfolk; and Knodeshall, co. Suffolk, are all branches of the same family, and that they as well as all the other Jenneys of Norfolk are "supposed to be" or "considered to be" a branch of the House of De Gisneto, De Gisne or Gyney of Heverland, Norfolk, though a complete line of descent therefrom, is not, in all cases, given, and none apparently show a continuous line back to the time of the Conquest, when the first of the

^{1a} Savage's *Genealog. Diet.* See Chetham Soc. *Publications*, Vol. LIX, p. 34.

² *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 331.

family is supposed to have come to England. Doubtless all the Janneys and Jenneys are descended from the progenitor of this Norfolk family of Gyney, and it is probably from a younger son of one of the early Lords of Heverland, though from which particular one is uncertain, that the Cheshire Janneys were descended. A writer in New York *Vogue* states, upon what authority I know not, that Thomas Janney, formerly of Cheshire and subsequently a Provincial Councillor of Pennsylvania,³ was "apparently of the Frisby Hall Derby, house 1563."

It has been credibly stated that⁴ "the year 1558 is a date beyond which few church registers go, and but few commence at this early date, though Thomas Cromwell with Henry VIII's authority, in 1538, enjoined that every parson, vicar, or curate for every church keep one book or register for recording the date of every wedding, christening, and burial made in his parish." It is therefore generally very difficult, if not impossible, to trace, with accuracy, most pedigrees to an earlier date than the middle of the Sixteenth Century. And, therefore, although as early as 1385, a John Janny held a messuage, on The High Street, in Nantwich; and in 1408, one of the same name was a witness in an Inquisition post-mortem at Macelesfield; and in 1469, a William Jenny was an office-bearer in the Ancient Parish of

³In various publications mention is to be found of Thomas Janney's Arms, which are said to have been, Ermine, a bend cotised gules. *Crest.* On a wreath of its colours a hand in armour argent, thereon a hawk or falcon close proper, belled of the last. *Motto.* Ducit amor patriae. (*The Continent*, Phila., Apr. 25, 1883; *The Jolliffe, Neill, and Janney Families of Va.; The Thomas Book; Quaint Corners in Philadelphia.*) These Arms are the same as those of some of the Jenneys of Suffolk and of Bucks (those of the Jenneys of Bredfield are Ermine a bend gules, cotised or), and if Thomas Janney had a right to use them, he never availed himself of his right, so far as I have seen any evidence of. I do not know at how early a date his descendants in America were using them but have found that Phineas Janney, of Alexandria, was so doing in 1810.

⁴*Cheshire Notes and Queries*, Vol. I, p. 49.

Prestbury; and in 1492, a Robert Janny gave testimony in a case in Wilmslow Parish,⁵ I shall make no attempt to trace a line of descent from them to the persons concerning whom this article speaks.

The Registers of the following Parishes, in which the Cheshire Janneys resided appear to have commenced in the years here stated,⁶ viz., Wilmslow, 1558; Prestbury, 1560; Northenden, 1564; Mobberley, 1578; Stockport, 1584; Cheadle, 1559; Bowden, 1628. Of these those of Prestbury and Stockport have been published. In the former are various entries of the Hough, Burgess, Curbishley, Thornicroft and Worthington families into which the Janneys intermarried, and in the latter those of the Baguley, Bancroft, Burgess, Gee, Heald, Hough, Hunt, Sydebotham, Vawdrey and Worthington families. Unfortunately the Registers of Bowden, in which Parish the Wilmslow Janneys owned property, and from which they may have removed, do not begin until 1628.

The first Janney entry in both the Prestbury and Wilmslow Registers is the marriage in 1561 of Peter Smyth and Elizabeth Janney, the one on June 10th, and the other January 24th. These are probably merely coincidences of names, and presumably do not record two marriages of the same persons. The fact however that many of the Christian names of the Janneys given in both Registers are the same, and that both Registers contain records of the Woodforde Janneys, leads to the presumption that the Prestbury and Wilmslow Janneys were of the same family, and probably closely related. The Prestbury Register shows that Randle Janney of Woodforde married Alice Wilkeson Nov. 26,

⁵ Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society *Publications*, Vol. XXXI, p. 44; Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, Vol. II, p. 157; The Chetham Soc. *Publications*, Vol. XCVII, p. 216; *East Cheshire*, Vol. I, p. 157.

⁶ See *East Cheshire*, Vol. I, pp. 97, 231; *Cheshire Notes and Queries*, Vol. III, pp. 234, 236, Vol. IV, p. 2.

1566, and was buried Oct. 7, 1593. The Wilmslow Register shows the burial Jan. 13, 1595, of Randle Janney of Styall, the name of whose wife is not given, but at least three of whose children are mentioned. As will hereafter appear Thomas Janney, of Styall, who was buried March 5, 1602, was the progenitor of the Quaker Janneys who removed to America, and his father was named Randle, and was living about 1593. Which if either of the above mentioned Randles was the father of Thomas is uncertain: if the Woodeforde one was, then Alice Wilkeson was not his first wife.

I. The earliest Janney Will, now preserved at Chester,⁷ is that of Thomas Janney, of Styall, 1602; and many of those prior to 1700⁸ are those of members of his family. Mr. George Middleton, of Probate Registry, Chester, wrote me "we have no Will of Randle Janney 1593 or 1595 recorded here; we have the Inventories of both Christopher Janney, 1613, and Randle Janney, 1613, but the Will of neither," and sent me the following copy of the Will and Inventory of Thomas Janney, 1602.

"IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN the three and twentithe daie of September in the yeare of our Lord God a thousand sixe hundredth and one And in the three and fortithe yeare of the Reigne of our Sovraigne lady Eli abethe by the Grace of God the Quenes Maty that nowe ys.

I THOMAS JANNEY of Styall in the County of Chester Husbandman beinge sicke in body and yet of ffyt mynd and sound memory (God be thanked for yt) do make and ordeyne this my Testament conteyninge therein my last Will in maner and forme followinge First I bequethe my Soull into the hands of Almightye God trustinge by the Meryts of Jesus Christe to be one of those ellecte that shall inheryte the Kingdome of Heaven. And my body I comend to Christian Buryell And as concerninge such goods lands and other things w^{ch} God hath blessed me wth all my Will is that they be gevin and bestowed in maner and forms as in this my testament and last Will is expressed Firste I do give and bequeathe to

⁷ The will of Edward Janny, of Manchester, merchant, dated July 22, 1553, a copy of which is in Bishop's Registry, at Chester, has been published in Chetham Soc. *Publicaitons*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 157.

⁸ For list of these see Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society *Publications*, Vols. II, IV, XV, XVIII.

Rondull Janny my eldest Sonne all my freehold lands and inherytance whatsoever together wth all my rentes and remanders w^{ch} I have wthin the Parishe of Bowdon in the said County of Chester. And all that my close or p^{rc}cell of land wtha the appurtencs in Hale in the said Parishe of Bowdon and comonly called and Knownen by the name of Rounde Hey to have and to hold the same to him the said Rondull Janny and to his heyres males of his body lawfully to be begotten for ever And all that yerely rente lands & herydytamt^s in Ryaecrofte in said Parishe of Bowdon To have and to hold the same to him the said Rondull Janny and to the heyres males of his body lawfully to be begotten forever.

Itm my Will is that there shalbe taken upp uppon my whole goods the just some of three score pounds w^{ch} was geven by my father Rondull Janny decesed to three of my children that is to say to Mawld Janny XX^{li} To Margaret Janny XX^{li} and to Anne Janny XX^{li}. And the same somes to be geven to them And afterwards to be putt fourth to & for there best comoditie and pfyt at the sight & discretion of my Executors accordinge to my fathers said Will and Testament. Itm my Will ys that after my funerall expenses & my debts paid that all the rest of my goods debts & cattells shalbe equally devyded into three equall pts. whereof one pte. I give and bequeth to my Wief Katherin Janny the other two partes I give and bequethe emongs all my children (except such speciall legacies as hereafter are expressed that is to saie I give and bequeth to my Doughter Mawld Janny the gretest brasse panne and one coffer w^{ch} was her mothers. Itm I give to my Sonne Harry Janny one payre of Iren bound wheelles and a cart chest and a wagens cheste Itm. I give to my Sonne Rondull Janny the other payre of Iren bound wheelles beinge the better payre. Itm. I give towards the makinge of Twinics bridge III^s IIII^d if they make any bridge there eles not Itm. my Will is that if Harry my Sonne shalbe sued or mollested for the occupacon of Collshawe House That they my Wief and my said Sonne Rondull shall give him helpe & mayntennance wth money & other helpe so farr as there power will extend to the uttermost And to be paid againe by my Sonne Harry of his profits of the ground of Collshawe for there discharge in that behalfe w^{ch} my Will ys shall be done trulie. Itm. my Will ys that the great Arke in the barne be & remaine there to the use of my said Sonne Rondull And for my husbandry gear & stuffe so my Will ys that it shalbe used and occupied betwixt my Wief & my said Sonne Rondull, at the house only And to be repayed by them as it decays and in the end to remayne to my said Sonne Rondull unto whom I give the same And if my Wief do not occupie y^t then she not be charged wth the reparacon thereof And I do ordeyne & make my Executors of this my last Will & Testamente my said Sonne Rondull Janny & Hugh Burges of Hawskesherth And I make Overseer hereof my Friend Humfrey Eccles trustinge they will see the same pformed & executed as my trust is in them.

These beinge wytnesses

REYNOLD KELSALL

JAMES KELSALL

HUMFREY ECCLES

[No signature or seal.]

Debts oweinge Hugh Burges of Todelowe XV^s

Hugh Worrall XXXIII^s IIII^d

The Wief of Willm Cash V^s and three heepes of Ots and half heepe of barley.

A true and pft Inventorye of all the goods and cattells debts and moveables wch were THOMAS JANNYES of Styall in the Parishe of Willmeslome in the Countie of Chester At the tyme of his death prysed and valued the IXth daye of March Anno Dni 1601 Annoqr. Regnie Due nros Elizabethhe Regnie Anglie Francie et Hibrne &c. nme &c. Quadriagessimo quarto By Will^m Allcock Rondull Jan-yen Robte Allcock Rychard Rylands and Will^m Newton for that purpose ellected & chosen &c.

Imp^rmis in cattell viz two stieres and mene kyne prysed at xxiii^{li}
 Itm. seven littell calves and one colte in all iii^{li} xvi^s
 Itm. two mares vi^{li} xiii^s iii^d Itm. seventene sheepe iii^{li}
 Itm. two swyne xvi^s Itm. barly in the barne xiii^{li} vi^s viii^d
 Itm. Wheate in the barne liii^s iii^d Itm. Otes in the barne xii^{li}
 Itm. Barly in the garner xxiii^s Itm. Otes in the garner liii^s iii^d
 Itm. in haye iii^{li} Itm. beanes in the barne xx^s
 Itm. in husbandry ware given & bequethed to his Sonne Rondull and Harry & to his Wief to bee used and occupied by them accordinge to the wordes of the Will and Testament of the Testator iii^{li} vi^s viii^d
 Itm. in beddinge viii^{li} Itm. in sheets & other lynnins vi^{li} viii^s
 Itm. in coffers bords stooles cheares bedstocks &c xlv^s viii^d
 Itm. one great Arke in the barne wch is geven to Rondull by Will xiii^s iii^d
 Itm. in pan brasse xlv^s viii^d Itm. in pott brasse xx^s
 Itm. in pewter xvi^s Itm. in Treeneware xxvi^s viii^d
 Itm. in Irenware as tongs Irengate broches &c xvi^s
 Itm. Axes bills spades shovells &c vi^s viii^d Itm. in apparell for his body iii^{li} vi^s viii^d
 Itm. A sword and a dropper vii^s Itm. in wooll xii^s
 Itm. in hemp and flax xx^s Itm. in beefe and bacon xli^s viii^d
 Itm. in sawed bords and wheel tymber iii^s iii^d Itm. in debts as appeereth in bylls ciii^{li} xii^s iii^d
 Itm. Otes at Colshawe xlviii^s Itm. hey there x^s
 Itm. in cattell there in all xi xvi^{li} Itm. one colt theare xx^s
 Itm. in coyne xvi^{li} viii^s vi^d Itm. in gold xx^s
 Itm. one littell silver spoone iii^s Itm. in pullen as hennes &c vi^s viii^d
 Itm. two calve hydes xx^s Itm. in hempseivs vi^s viii^d
 Itm. one cowe and the hyre of her xl^s
 Sum tot cccxiii^{li} xviii^s i^d
 Proved in the Bishops Consistory Court of Chester the 15th April 1602.

From the above it appears that the father of Thomas Janney was named Randle and left a Will, which is not preserved at Chester, and the Registrars at Somerset House, London, and Minster Yard, York, state that it is not preserved in either of these places. As he is stated to have left legacies to his granddaughters Margaret and Anne, who were christened in 1593, and 1595, he must have been living

in the former year, and probably in the latter.. Judging from the dates of birth of Thomas Janney's children, his father Randle must have been born prior to 1530, but the date and place of his birth, and the names of his parents, wives, and children, except Thomas, are unknown to me. The lands mentioned in the Will of Thomas Janney were nearly all situated in Bowden Parish, and it is possible that the family lived in that Parish before they lived in Wilmslow Parish, though there were Janneys in the latter as early as 1492. Rev. Arthur Gore, Rector of Bowden, wrote me that the Registers of his Parish do not go back further than 1627, and that "Round hey & Ryecrofte are still known here as names of Farms."

Collshawe House, mentioned in the Will and Inventory of Thomas Janney, is referred to by both Ormerod and Earwaker,⁹ who speak of it as being in Bolin Fee, Wilmslow Parish; the former of whom says

"The present messuage is a farm-house," and the latter states that "One or two places in this neighborhood deserve to be noticed. Of these the most important is COLSHAW now an old-fashioned farmhouse, but originally the name of a small estate here, which, as was usually the case gave its name to the family who then held it under the local lords. By an early charter, not dated, and so before the year 1300, 'Edmund Fitton, then Lord of Bolyn, grants to *Adam de Colsache*, his heirs and assigns, the whole of the land of *Colsache*, with its appurtenances', etc. * * * When the Pownall Hall estates were divided between the two co-heiresses of Thomas Fitton of Pownall, in 1508, these lands were reserved, and it is expressly stated that the messuage called 'Colshaw' is to be held for 20 years 'for the use of a chaplain to pray for the souls of Thomas Fyton, his wife, his daughters, and his ancestors;' and after that time to revert to the other Pownall estates; and it accordingly passed to the Newtons. They held it for several generations, and it appears to have passed, with the greater part of the Pownall estates, to the Booths, and subsequently to the Earls of Stamford and Warrington."

The Newtons or Booths would therefore appear to have been owners of the fee when Thomas Janney occupied the property.

⁹ *History of Chester*, Vol. III, p. 592; *East Cheshire*, Vol. I, pp. 71, 148.

How many wives and children Thomas Janney had is not definitely known. In his Will only five children are mentioned by name, one clause simply leaving the residue "among all my children." His two marriages Dec. 7, 1578,¹⁰ to Jane Worthington, who was *bur.* Aug. 10, 1589, and by whom he had four children; and Nov. 4, 1590, to Katherine Cash, of Styall, who survived him, and by whom he had six children, are fully established; but whether he was married prior to 1578, is not certain. An entry in Wilmslow Parish Register reads "1570 Nov. 7, was cristened Alyce Janney daughter of Thos. Janney," and if she was the dau. of this Thomas, he was married three times, his first wife being Ellen —, who was *bur.* Feby 7, 1578. As all the other entries concerning Thomas Janney, in these Registers, about this time, appear to refer to him, this entry very possibly does also, but as it is not certain that it does, Alyce will not be stated to have been one of his children, who were as follows

Children¹¹ (by 2 wives, Jane Nos 1-4; Katherine Nos. 5-10):

II. 1. Randle, *bapt.* Feby 23, 1579-80, *bur.* Oct. 30, 1613, *m.* July 14, 1602 Ellen Abrodd. He is mentioned in his father's will.

2. Margery, *bapt.* March 31, 1582. She probably is the "Margaret Janye of Styall" who was *bur.* Mch 23, 1591.

3. Henerie, *bapt.* March 7, 1584; mentioned in his father's will.

4. Maude, *bapt.* April 25, 1587, *m.* May 1, 1605 William Sidebotham. She is mentioned in her father's will.

5. Thomas, *bapt.* Jany 15, 1591, *bur.* Feby 6, 1591.

6. Margaret, *bapt.* July 4, 1593, mentioned in her father's will. It is uncertain whether Thomas Hunte married July

¹⁰ All dates in this article are Old Style.

¹¹ All dates of baptisms, marriages and burials of these children are taken from the Registers of Wilmslow Parish.

16, 1610, this Margaret, or Margaret, dau. of William of Handforth, who was *bapt.* Apr. 17, 1591.

7. Anne, *bapt.* Apr. 27, 1595, mentioned in her father's will.

8. Thomas, *bapt.* June 29, 1597.

9. Margerie, *bapt.* Sept. 24, 1599. Margaret and Margerie are each described in baptismal records as "daughter of Thomas Janney of Styall," and as Maude, Margaret and Anne are mentioned in their father's Will of 1601 as recipients of a legacy from his deceased father, it would appear that Margaret and Margerie were not synonyms, and that sisters bore these two names.

10. William, *bapt.* Dec. 7, 1601, *bur.* Mch 7, 1602.

(To Be Continued.)

A SOUTHERN TRAVELER'S DIARY IN 1840.

BY WILLIAM H. WILLS.

(Concluded in This Number.)

ACQUAINTANCES: COLUMBUS.

Thursday 23rd. This morning I felt somewhat better, but still very sore. I met in Town with some more acquaintances, which are by no means scarce in the South. Columbus is very pleasantly situated on the Tombigbee river and has been a place of much business, but like almost all Towns in Miss: it grew too fast and is now groaning beneath an enormous weight which is destined to break her down and ruin her people. The place is now very dull, few goods in the place and fewer being sold. Lowndes County is nearly as bad off as Hinds and Madison and Columbus destined to sink very low. It is certainly a gloomy prospect and calculated to depress the spirits to witness the revulsions and changes from high prosperity to deep adversity. It is a change however which every community must experience when they permit themselves to be carried away by such gross extravagance and wild speculation that the Southern Country has been guilty of for the last three or four years.

TOMBIGBEE BOAT: MOSQUITOES.

The forenoon of the day I spent in writing home, and had just concluded & sealed a letter for Aunt Cotten when a Messenger informed me of the arrival of a Steam Boat going down the river. Hurry, hurry, pack up and a preparation to make another move I trust a more pleasant one than the last. At four o'clock p. m. I was on board the Lalla rookh, and the sharp sound of her high pressure engine again saluted my ears and in a few minutes once more under way,

puff, puff, puff.—I was fortunate in getting on a boat which I subsequently understood to be one of the best on the river. I succeeded in getting a good birth and pleasantly located. During our passage down we found the Mosquitoes very troublesome and but for bars with which my birth was provided, could not have slept, these however protected me and I slept comfortably: our boat having a good deal of freight to take on, delayed a good deal and moved very slowly. The river being so narrow also prevented her from running after dark and having to lie by, we were very much annoyed by Mosquitoes. My remedy against them was to go to bed and having an upper birth the air was quite pleasant.. After a slow and tedious time down the river stopping at a good many landings to take in Cotten, we finally reached Warsaw

WARSAW: OLD ACQUAINTANCES.

Saturday morning about 9 o'clock. This is the landing place & Jameston is situated half a mile farther. both are small & poor places, not much business doing in either. I landed here to spend a few days with a parcel of old acquaintances from No. Ca. and who reside in this vicinity. I here met with Silas Wilkinson & P. S. Cromwell both from No. Ca. the latter of whom was a school Mate of mine & has recently become a Member of the Baptist Church. He has always been very wild & the change is a salutary one. By his assistance I was soon provided a horse, and found myself at 12 o'clock at his house 3 ms. from Jameston. Delaying a few minutes I went over to Dr. Horns. Here I am once more beneath the roof of a family where I have so often found a welcome, and have cause to believe that the former friendship manifested has not abated. I was welcomed with a sincerity which assured me that seven years have not effaced from the minds of each other the recollections & from our hearts the feelings that once influenced

us, while I was an Itinerant Wanderer in the old North State. Sister Horn was among my favorites at home and I believe the partiality was reciprocated. None should have been more glad to see, and she welcomed me with sincerity.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION.

This neighborhood is Edgecombe County again, only it has been revised and much improved. Indeed a mighty change has come over the moral prospects of this people. Here are Wm. Seth, Gray & Blake Little once as wild and reckless as any Men, their wives B. & H. Turner, the Stantons and many others all religious and members of the M. P. Church. A few years ago this Church was organised in a private house by 12 Members, it now numbers more than 120 beside colored. There is scarcely an individual in the whole neighborhood irreligious, and what is equally gratifying I understand the most of them adorn the doctrine of Christ in their walk & conversation.—Dr. Horn who was very cold after coming to Ala. is now as lively as is to be found, and labours much in his neighborhood. I regret finding Sister Horn quite sick. Her health has been delicate for years & I fear she may not long live.

Sunday 26th. There was preaching at the Baptist Church one mile from Dr. Hornes where they have about 50 members and who belong to the liberal or Missionary order. I find this subject has been agitated here and as in No. Ca. caused divisions. The old order like all I have ever yet seen are dull cold Antinomians. I never heard of their doing good and never expect to.— I found a large congregation, and two Ministers in attendance. Being introduced, I was invited into the pulpit and to preach, but declining, the

2 HOUR SERMON, BESIDES EXHORTATION : MEETINGS.

Pastor of the Church preached a sermon of two hours length and I concluded by exhortation. I understood his sermon

was much better and much more liberal than usual and at the close of my exhortation considerable feeling. There was preaching in the afternoon a little way off by old bro: Stanton, but I did not attend, having to preach myself at candle light in our Church, the appointment having been made to day. At night I went over to M. P. Church 2 ms. from Dr. Hornes. The appointment having been only circulated to day, we of course expected not many persons but on arriving I was surprised to find a congregation of from 100 to 150 persons. The house is neatly finished, sealed, and having a good stove. They have certainly done well. Just before leaving Dr. Hornes some twelve or fifteen persons were assembled, and we had a most precious season, and it was transferred to our meeting at Church. There is a gracious influence in a praying congregation which ministers will feel, and blessed be God, this influence was not without its prevalence over me. We had indeed a melting time, and probably not many dry eyes or hearts that did not rejoice. Out of this congregation, there were very few not professors of religion. All enjoyed the meeting, but more particularly must I mention Sister Wm. Little, Sister Clanton (widow of Landon Clanton) and a Baptist sister Susan Pugh. this young lady came on a visit from Tampa, & was much prejudiced against us, but since her being in Sumpter, her prejudices have vanished and she says she enjoys her self much more at Methodist than Baptist Meetings. She was some time since at a Sacramental meeting of ours, her struggles were great but finally she broke down the middle wall of partition, and communed with us. Her soul was then much blessed. During our meeting to night we had several exhortations from others in the fulness of their joy, and none of them displayed more feeling, nor more good sense and none were better applied than the one from this baptist sister.

After church I went home with bro. Cromwell.—

CONSOLATIONS OF DUTY DONE.

Monday 27—Yesterday I was called on by all my old acquaintances and pressing invitations from all so I must try & take the round while her[e].— After breakfast I rode over to Seth Littles & remained till evening then went to Ben Turners & staid all night. Bro: Turner & his wife were also among those I highly esteemed in times gone by, and have spent many hours in trying to persuade them to become Xstns.—In the course of my pilgrimage through life I have often thought that as a Minister of the Gospel I have been of no service to my fellow Men, but from time to time gleams of hope has bursted on me, and after years of labour and of toil the seed of the gospel sown in tears I have found springing up and bearing fruit to the glory of God.—In this neighborhood I have rec^d. fresh encouragement to labour for my God & for Sinners, looking for aid to Him on whom I wish to lean. Thank God, I have not been altogether useless, and to Bro & Sister Turner & Sister Wm Little I can adopt the language of the Apostle & say to them, "If not to others yet to you I have been an Apostle"—O God, give me faith to believe that they who sow in Tears shall reap in joy.

RELIGIOUS WORK.

Tuesday 28—dined at Gray Littles & evening found me at our Church where I again tried to preach to another good congregation. If possible the Lord blessed us more abundantly than on Sunday night. Our meeting however was not of the same character of the former, *that* was boisterous, *this* still and solemn until the cup of joy being well filled gently overflowed.—Oh! sweet was the season to others Sweet was the season to me, and deeply did my soul drink of those hidden delights and partake of that food of which the world knows nothing of. O my God Grant that while I preach unto others I shall not become myself a Castaway! After services at church I went to bro. Henry Stantons.

Wednesday 29—Accompanied by Seth Little I rode up to Dr. Boykins who lives some four miles out of this neighborhood. Mrs. Boykin & Mrs. Bellamy have recently become professors of religion, (but not joined any church) and Dr. Boykin who was once an infidel has become a somewhat altered man. I conversed with him on the subject of religion and he appeared to feel upon the occasion.—before leaving I prayed with the family and I believe good impressions were made thereby. Lord grant that he too may be brought in.—After dinner we returned calling at Wm. Littles & Bro: Turners & while at the latter I rec^d a note from bro. Cromwell informing me that the river was very low, and still falling fast, that there was but one boat up from Mobile and that I

DEPARTURE FROM THE LOCALITY.

had better be at Jameston that night, else I might meet with difficulty in getting down. My stay in this delightful neighborhood was thus cut short, and hastening over to Dr. Hornes, I packed up, had my trunk sent over to Mr. Cromwells, then on a buggy for Jameston and after sunset bid adieu to this delightful county and its exceedingly kind inhabitants and about dark was at Jameston (or Warsaw). I must confess that it was with reluctance I found it necessary to leave here so soon, and really I felt like the apostle that it was "in my heart to live and die with this people"—But I bid them farewell in the fond expectation of meeting them again, if no more in this world, yet in the land of everlasting life where parting shall be no more. Amen!—When I got to Warsaw the boat had gone up the river but was constantly expected down.—In expectation and uncertainty and with the time very irksome on my hands I staid in this place until

Friday 1 May, when about 11 o'clock A. m. the S. B. on board and in a few moments was off for Mobile accompanied by Mr. Cromwell—From my observation I am of

ALABAMA HEALTH AND SOIL.

opinion that the portion of Alabama which I have seen, will not equal in richness and fertility of soil Madison & Hinds Counties Miss: the latter is also I think equally a pleasant Country for residence if it is as healthy.. There is found in Ala. two distinct and different soils, one very black & sticky—the other more sandy. the first is exceedingly unpleasant in rainy weather, being very muddy. The last is much more desirable for residence. In favour of Sumpter County (that part which I saw) I believe it is much more healthy than any portion of Edgecombe County, N. C. and as a pretty fair evidence there are a great many children and I saw none but what were very healthy & fat. Indeed there is rather too much disposition to corpulence both in children and adults.—All my acquaintances agree in saying that their families are far healthier here than they were in N. C.

DISCOMFORTS ON BOAT.

On getting on my Boat and finding her large and her births capacious, I anticipated a very pleasant time down. But my expectations were soon marred and my hopes destined to be dashed. The river being very low, it was with difficulty our boat could keep the stream & had not gone far before she ran into the woods losing some of her Cotton & the delay was consequently considerable.—In addition to this we stopt very often to take on Cotton until finally, the decks, the gangways and every place was so crowded that scarcely a breath of air could be had. I could not go to bed before 11 o'clock at night, and all day the passengers were seeking every dark spot to find a little comfort. The weather for the last two weeks has been intensely hot, equal to our mid-summer, and hence our situation on the boat was highly unpleasant. On Saturday the cry of "Man overboard!" was heard, the engines stopt and after some delay one of the deck hands was taken out of the water. He had swam man-

fully and was thus saved.—Saturday night another cry was heard the engine stopt, and it was found the boat had run over a man in a skiff. The poor fellow was presently found and taken aboard; somewhat hurt and dreadfully frightened.

So uncomfortable was my situation that I could neither read nor write and the time from Friday to Monday passed very heavily—

ACQUAINTANCES; MOBILE.

Monday 4th—11 o'clock we came in sight of Mobile and about 12 we were at the wharf and I joyfully bid adieu to the Genl Sumpter. I put up at the Waverly house, and on getting there found myself tired, very hot and very thirsty for in addition to our other inconveniences on the boat we had no water but from the river & that was both muddy & warm. A pleasant room, nice ice water, and an hours rest and I felt an hundred prct. better.. Then dressing was ready for dinner.—Soon after Mr. Stewart came in and insisted on my going to his house, and he sending for my baggage. I made his house my home.—Mr. Stewart & Mr. Parker live together, both of whom & their wives have professed religion. Mr. S. & wife are Members of the Presbyterian & Mr. P & wife Members of the Methodist Church.

I spent $3\frac{1}{2}$ days in Mobile and found Mr. S. & wife very kind, Mr. P. not being at home.—

Mobile is a city of Cotton. It is to be found in the quay warehouses, sidewalks every where. They have rec^d upwards of 400,000 bales there this season & will probably reach half a million. There is more on hand now than any preceding year at this season. prices are low & must be worse.—Monday evening with Mr. & Mrs. Pratt I rode three miles in the country and found several of the situations very handsome. Mobile might be made a delightful place in Winter and a pleasant one in Summer, but unfortunately

like too many of the Southern Towns & Cities but little attention is paid it by the authorities. Hence it is dirty and about the wharves very filthy & stinking. Added to this so many of the inhabitants leave there in the Summer, that their erratic life forbids them making many improvements or paying much attention to these little conveniences & comforts without which any life & especially a city one is unpleasant—Mobile has abt. 15,000 inhabitants in Winter and has been probably as unfortunate in regard to fires as any place in the U. S.—In the last 12 m^{os}. they have had four or five that have laid some of the fairest and best portions of the city in ashes.—Only 10 days ago they had a fire & 3000 bales Cotton destroyed.

HOME NEWS.

On getting to M—I found a letter from my dear wife, the first I have had since leaving home, and only those who have been similarly situated can appreciate my feelings—All well too, thank God! he has taken care of my precious family tho I am far away.—Wednesdays mail brought me another letter from Anna Maria—News unfavorable, Richard sick, the baby unwell—It is dampening to the spirits of a fond parent, but I cannot forget that God is my friend, that he will do for them what I cannot do if I were there. O God I have trusted thee, still give me grace & faith, preserve my dear little ones, my mother, my wife, and restore me to them again. Nevertheless not my will, but Thine & O God give me resignation to that will.—

The news from home has made me the more anxious to get away, and having completed my business in Mo-

HOMEWARD BOUND.

bile I gladly availed myself of the opportunity of leaving the dirt and heat of the city, and on Thursday 7th at 5½ P. M. on board the Steamer Jefferson I turned my

back to Mobile and once more look^d towards home.—My plan is to Montgomery in S. Boat, then take Stage to Greensboro, Ga:—We have a large fine boat and a good prospect of pleasant trip up the river, hope I may not be again disappointed.

ITINERARY

April 3rd 1840 Left Balt. 4½ P. M. to Frederick 9 P. M. 61 m^s. to Hagerstown 26 m^s. 2½ A. M. to Hancock 26 m^s. 8 A. M. to Cumberland 40 m^s. 5 P. M. to Frostburg supper 11 m^s. 7 o'clock P. M. to Union Town P^a 55 m^s. 8 o'clock A. M. breakfast, to Washington P^a. to dinner 3½ P. M. 36 m^s. to Wheeling 10 o'clock P. M. 32 m^s. 287 M^s. to Wheeling 10 o'clock P. M.

Left Wheeling Monday 6th 3½ p. m. reached Cincinnati 8th 6 o'clock A. M.—355 m^s.

Left Mobile 5½ p. m. 7th May det^d 7 Hours arr^d at Montgomery 12 o'clock Midnight 9th—405 [408?] m^s. Left M^y. 10 o'clock A. M. 10th arr^d at Columbus 3½ P. M. same day 8 M^s. left Columbus 4½ p. m. same day arr^d at Greensboro 9 p. m. 11th 160 m^s. left G— 9½ p. m. same night ar^d at Augusta 4 A. M. 12th 85 m^s. left A^a— 6 A. M. arr^d at Charleston 2½ P. M.—136 M^s. left Charleston 4 P. M. arr^d at Wilmington 7—A. M. 13th 170 M^s. left Wilmington 8 a. m. arr^d at Enfield 7 p. m.—141 M^s.

(Concluded.)

RECONSTRUCTION DOCUMENTS.

LETTERS OF EX-ATTORNEY GENERAL EDWARD BATES TO SENATOR JAMES R. DOOLITTLE¹ OF WISCONSIN.

[The copies of letters which follow were written by the late Edward Bates, Attorney General in President Lincoln's Cabinet and a well known and esteemed citizen of the State of Missouri and of the City of St. Louis, including in one of them, extracts from letters which the Attorney General had previously written to other citizens. These letters were carefully filed away by the late ex-Senator Doolittle with his other private papers and correspondence. I am informed by members of Mr. Doolittle's family that he rarely kept copies of letters pertaining to public matters which he sent to his fellow citizens from time to time. And it is not possible for me, therefore, to produce Judge Doolittle's letters which probably called forth the two shorter letters of General Bates to him. These may still be found in the private papers of General Bates.

It is interesting to the student of American history, and particularly, to those investigators who are making a study of the reconstruction period of our national existence, to carefully and critically scan these letters of the late ex-Attorney General. Even members of the legal profession and publicists, generally, can glean much of real value from the luminous discussion of the questions succeeding the great Civil War as portrayed in these interesting letters.

It is worthy of note, too, that our own Wisconsin Senator was made the object of warm words of commendation from this high and intelligent authority. And this fact should not be forgotten, viz: that Judge Doolittle's constituents, many of them, were, at the same time, only too anxious to "nail him to the political cross" for his valiant stand during President Johnson's administration, an attitude which has been more than justified by the trend of subsequent events. And it is a fact, not generally known, we suspect, that nearly all of President Lincoln's confidential advisers commended and sustained the position of Judge Doolittle during the period referred to by General Bates. Letters in my possession from Secretaries Gideon Welles, Caleb B. Smith, J. P. Usher, and Postmaster General Blair, all establish that. They are not, however, as full and complete as are these of the Attorney General.

Of course, the time has passed to resurrect dead political issues. And certainly, the questions mooted in these interesting letters are no longer active political forces in our national life. Nevertheless, any well authenticated data which gives additional light on the lives and thoughts of our great statesmen of whatever period of our national existence, cannot fail, I am sure, to beget interest in such great national characters and events. And it is believed that these letters let in a few rays of political light from sources which have

been hitherto unexplored, perhaps, unknown. They are submitted in that belief.—DUANE MOWRY, Milwaukee, Wis.]

(Corner of Morgan & Leffingwell Sts.),

St. Louis, October 10, 1865.

Hon. J. R. Doolittle,
U. S. Senate,
at Racine, Wis.

Dear Sir:—

I am a retired man, wholly private, & have been in very low health for the last half year, & withal, am old. You are comparatively young; conspicuously engaged in the active strifes of party politics; bold, ardent & full of talent. I saw (in occasional items in the newspapers) that you were likely to be involved in sharp controversy; and (from my knowledge of your public character & of your course as a Senator) I considered inevitable, a fierce struggle between you & the extreme radicals, in & out of your own State.

Respecting you very highly, upon personal knowledge, & having a strong bias towards your side of the controversy in which I suppose you to be engaged, I should have written to you some time ago, but for fear that my letters might be felt as an intrusion, by one whose time & mind are so actively engaged upon matters of pressing interest. I have just seen a gentleman (perhaps known to you, at Washington, as Commissioner of Emigration, Rev'd James Mitchell, late of Ind'a) who urges me to write to you, supposing it possible that I may be able to aid you somewhat, in your pending strife, if only by words of encouragement & sympathy. With inducements, I venture to write to you.

¹ James Rood Doolittle was born in Hampton, N. Y., Jan. 3, 1815, and died at Cranston, R. I., July 27, 1897. He graduated at Hobart College in 1834 and practiced law in New York till his removal to Wisconsin in 1851. He served in the U. S. Senate for two terms, from 1857 to 1869, being very active in political matters growing out of the Civil War. He supported President Johnson's policy, and also voted against the 15th amendment. After retirement from public life he practiced and taught law. He wrote *United States in the Light of Prophecy*.—Lamb's *Biog. Dict. of U. S.*

I have witnessed, with sorrow & shame, the open abuses of power & the wanton disregard of principle, by extreme radicals, in the nation & in the sections; and I have felt it to be my duty to denounce some of those abuses. This I did to the people of my own State, by articles printed in the newspapers with my name attached, and also by letters to individuals in various parts of the north & east—from Baltimore to New York, & from Chicago to Boston. I see that the extreme radicals are nothing short of revolutionists. They seized upon the general zeal for putting (down) the rebellion & perverted it into the means to destroy all *government by law*. They esteem the Constitution a convenient contrivance to put particular men into places of power, but powerless to restrain the licentious exercise of despotic authority. They & we were eager to put down the secession & rebellion with which traitors hoped to revolutionize the country, by dismemberment & separation. But they, in pretended loyalty to the Union, aim to destroy the Union, & to establish, in its stead, one consolidated power over all. And thus, ostensibly resisting one revolution, they seek to establish another, more thorough in its principle & more universal in its application. *Their* revolution destroys the States, without whose separate action there can be no constitutional government of the nation: It destroys the segregation of powers ordained by the constitution, as a barrier against individual ambition & tyranny. And it destroys the law itself, by placing unbounded power in a single hand, supreme & absolute.

This may seem to you strong language—rash & passionate. Strong it certainly is, but not rash nor passionate; for I have weighed it all before, and have analyzed the propositions & feel confident that I can maintain every one of them, by indisputable facts & unexceptionable logic—but not now nor here. I must not bore you with a repetition of my doctrines, often expressed, & in a variety of forms. And yet, I

cannot resist the desire to send to you extracts from letters which I have lately written to friends in Penn'a. & New York, respectively. I will copy them on a separate paper, & send herewith.

I take a very lively interest in your success at this particular juncture, not only because I respect & honor you, for your talents, principles & courage, but also, because I do verily believe that you are more likely than any other man, to give a good tone & direction to the spirit and action of the Senate.

I remain Sir, with great respect,

Your friend & ob't serv't,

EDW. BATES.

(Extract of a letter to a friend, in Penn'a—of Sept. 24/65.)

———"You express the opinion that—"a split between the administration & the radicals is inevitable"—I suppose so; and that split may be very formidable, if the Radicals be still allowed by the Administration, to give tone and direction to all or any of the Departments, whereby the government is, every day, committed to Radical enormities, & thus pledged against law & truth. But if we really have *an administration* (and not 7 or 8 distinct Departmental Governments—each one scheming for its own ends); if Pres't Johnson will assume what lawfully belongs to him, the headship of the nation, the actual control of an administration, all of whose parts *are required* to operate harmoniously, for the attainment of *one* great end, the restoration of the Union with peace & order, and by *one* great means, the strict observance of the constitution—If, I say, the President will only do this, &, with a fixed resolution & steady hand, perform all his duties, *according to law*, he will have no cause to fear the radicals. All the honest men among them (& I suppose there are some) will willingly acquiesce in a course so manifestly just & right—all the timid, the trimmers, the time-servers (which I take to be the main body of the Radicals) will hasten to give their adhesion, rather than renounce

all hope of power & patronage for the next four years. And as for the few truculent leaders who (like the frogs we read of) hoped, by bellowing & blowing, to pass themselves off for bullocks—they have no substance in them, & may be trodden out, like so many sparks on the floor.

“The law is no longer the rule of government. Nobody looks at its provisions, in detail; but every officer imagines himself appointed to carry out some general party policy, and that the means & machinery for accomplishing that end, are all left at his discretion. If the law happens to be defective or wrong, he supplies the defect & corrects the error, by his own superior wisdom & virtue.”

(Extracts of a letter to a friend in New York, denouncing *Martial Law*—Sept. 29, 1865.)

“In a government created by law, & that has no power of continued existence but what the law gives it, *martial law* is an absurd contradiction, and as fatal to liberty as it is absurd, in law & logic. Can you & I pretend to be free men, & boast that we live under the protection of our country’s laws, and, at the same time, admit that there is some man in the country—any possible man, under any possible circumstances—who can, at his will & by his simple declaration, rightfully, constitute himself our absolute master, in open defiance of the laws which we claim as our protection against arbitrary power?”

“There is no such *law* as *martial law*. It is unmitigated despotism, set up by fraud & force, to the destruction of all law.”

* * * * *

“In the very act of setting aside & defying the laws of our own country, they (the Atty Genl & Judge Advocate) profess to respect & conform to *the usages of nations*—i. e. *the usages of nations* is to be followed, rather than the positive provisions of our own law. And herein they are as

much at fault in fact as in doctrine. There is no such *usage of nations*: There is not a nation in Christendom that allows its military commanders to annul, at pleasure, the laws of the land."

Republican Government is a rare thing in history: It is against *the usage of nations*; and when our fathers tore a fragment from the British Empire, & made it into a Republic, they committed a great departure from the *usage of nations*. And in doing this, they thought that it was possible to get along without a despotic human sovereign—that the People might be governed, in peace & in war, by laws of their own making. But it seems now, that our fathers were entirely mistaken—that they were a set of confiding simpletons, who could not see from cause to effect—from the beginning to the end. It is now discovered & made plain to all zealous, radical advocates of power, that the law is wholly insufficient *as a rule of government*, and that there *is a necessity* for us to have a master, or as many masters as may choose to *declare* themselves such, in the name of martial law."

"I am sick at heart, at being forced to witness, in high places, such impudent audacity & shameless nonsense"—

* * * * *

Anarchy is universal & interchangeable despotism; and all men will gladly accept protection against anarchy when offered by any despotic hand strong enough to give it. France did it twice; and I am not without fear that our fierce, progressive radicals are, in this way, trying to drive us to follow her example, by taking the one short step from the Republic to the Empire."

St. Louis, Oct. 26./65.

Hon. J. R. Doolittle,

U. S. S.,

Racine, Wis.

Dear Sir:—

In due time, I was gratified by the receipt of your letter,

accompanied by package containing 4 of your speeches. My son, Judge Barton Bates, (a man of cool, clear, sound judgment) pronounces them *very good*, & appropriate to our cause.

My health is very bad, in so much that I am confined to the house, can do nothing that requires activity or locomotion—nothing, in fact, which may not be accomplished by short & intermittent mental labor at my own desk. Therefore, I handed over your excellent speeches, to my friend, Sam'l T. Glover (a man full of zeal & talent) who promises to give them the best publicity in his power.

Most respectfully,

EDW. BATES.

St. Louis, Feb. 17, /66.

Hon. J. R. Doolittle,
U. S. Senate.

Dear Sir:—

With pleasure and profit, I have read your great speech, & thank you for it.

How does it happen that, notwithstanding all the fierce debates, in both houses, about the legal & political condition of the "rebel states," as regards the Union, no mention has ever been made of the written opinions of the Heads of Departments, given to Pres't Lincoln, on the occasion of the Act for the Admission of West Virginia? They must be on file, either in the State Dep't or in the President's own office. I have the only copy I know of, outside.

I saw the importance of those documents, at the time; and I foresaw the valuable uses that might be made of them, in certain political contingencies, then deemed hardly probable, but now, actually come to pass.

They are worth your reading, & when you have read them, you will know better than I can tell you, how to use them. My own, of course, was recorded in the Atty Genl's

office. Mr. Chase's I consider of particular value, and could not fail to have effect upon some of his ultra-radical following in the two houses.

In former times, there was an instance of the mysterious disappearance of similar documents; and Mr. Benton, (a fierce opponent & "a good hater,") did not scruple to accuse Mr. Calhoun, Sec'y of State under Monroe, of, surreptitiously, contriving their destruction or embezzlement.

I never believed the charge—it was too heinous to be believed, upon evidence merely presumptive; but so it is, the originals were never produced, & it seems, nobody had copy, as I have in this instance.

I do not know that Mr. Chase, *even now*, denies the entity of the rebel states, like Wade, & Stevens, & Howe, & Ashley, & such like; but if he do, his written opinion then, will be a flat bar to his new doctrine.

I am horror-struck at the late act about the Freedmen's bureau (called Trumbull's bill) and am anxious to have an exact copy, not knowing precisely, what changes were made by the House's amendments. Can you not cause a copy to be sent me?

Most respectfully,

Your friend & serv't,

EDW. BATES.

LEWIS JONES,
OF
ROXBURY AND WATERTOWN, MASSACHUSETTS,
1640-1684,
AND
SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS IN THE SOUTH.

BY A. S. SALLEY, JR.

(To Be Continued.)

Among the early settlers of Roxbury, Massachusetts, was LEWIS JONES, who, with his wife, Ann, joined Rev. John Eliot's church in Roxbury about 1640,¹ their names being recorded on the church book in the handwriting of the "Apostle to the Indians" himself. He is said to have been a planter, and the locality of his home in Roxbury was called "The Nooks" and was about on the present site of Nooks Corner, or perhaps nearer the present site of Jamaica Plains, on the extreme edge of Dorchester.² He was one of the sixty-four donors to the Free School in Roxbury, known to-day as the Roxbury Latin School, he agreeing, on August 31, 1645, to pay the Feofees of the school four shillings annually.

The maiden name of Lewis Jones's wife, Ann, is not positively known, but she is supposed to have been a daugh-

¹ On John Camden Hotten's *List of Emigrants to America, 1600-1700*, page 135, appears the name of "Lewes Jones," aged 20, who embarked at London, October 13, 1635, on the *Amitie* bound for St. Christopher's. It is possible that this is the same Lewis Jones whose name appears on the Roxbury records of 1640.

² Statements of Henry Dutch Lord, of Boston, Massachusetts (1895).

ter of Simon Stone, as Simon Stone had a daughter named Ann,³ and Lewis Jones, in his will, named his "brother John Stone" as overseer of his will, and, by a codicil to the same, made Simon and John Stone guardians of his son Shubael Jones. Simon Stone did not mention his daughter Ann in his will, but he might have provided for her at an earlier date.

From Roxbury Lewis Jones moved with his family to Watertown, Massachusetts,⁴ about 1650⁵ and resided there until his death.

Mrs. Ann Jones died May 1, 1680.⁶ Lewis Jones died April 11, 1684.⁷

³ "Ann Stone, b. England 1624, dau. of Deacon Simon and Joan or Jane."—Dr. Henry Bond's *History of Watertown*.

"Simon and his family disappear from the registers after the birth of his daughter Mary Oct. 1. 1621. He must have removed to Boxted bet. that date and the birth of his dau. Ann, who was born abt. 1624, since she was eleven years old in 1635."—*English Ancestry of Simon and Gregory Stone*.

⁴ "Ap. 23, 1679, Lewis Jones, of Wat., planter, for 12 cords of wood sold to Justinian Holden, about 3 acres, bounded with the farmland of Holden, and the Great Fresh Pond surrounding the same. Wit. John Eames, and John Coller."—Bond's *History of Watertown*.

⁵ August 31, 1645, he subscribed to the Free School fund in Roxbury and his son Shubael was born in Watertown, Oct. 14, 1651. His daughter Phoebe was born in Roxbury in 1645.

"He probably moved to Watertown about this date, just before the birth of his son Shubael."—Bond's *History of Watertown*.

Judge Sherman W. Adams, in his sketch of Wethersfield, in the second volume of the *Memorial History of Hartford County*, page 435, says: "In 1635 there was a considerable accession to the new settlement. Those whose names are given below also came from Watertown, a part arriving in 1635, and others in the year following." On this list is the name of Lewis Jones. It is possible that this is our man; that he came from St. Christopher's in 1635 to Watertown and shortly afterwards went to Wethersfield; that he removed from Wethersfield to Roxbury before 1740 and in 1750 moved back to Watertown.

⁶ "Here lyeth the Body of Ann Jones, aged 78 years, dyed the 1 of May, 1680.—Upon ye death of that pious Matron: She lived a pious, holy, godly life,—being now escaped free from hate and strife."—Grave stone, Watertown, ancient burying ground. This record does not harmonize, however, with the records of the birth of Ann Stone given in note 3.

⁷ Nathaniel Goodwin's *Genealogical Notes*, p. 129.

"In the Name of God, Amen. I, Lewis Jones, in Watertown, in New-England, being at this present of perfect understanding and memory, though weak in body,—committing my soul unto the hands of Almighty God, and my body to decent burial, in hope of a resurrection unto eternal life through the merits and power of Jesus Christ my most gracious Saviour and Redeemer; do thus dispose of that estate which God hath graciously given unto me: Considering the weak and helpless condition of my dear wife Ann Jones and of my son Shubael Jones, my will and pleasure is, that the whole of my estate, (after the discharge of my debts and my burial,) be improved for their supply, the benefit of it, and also, the principal, if they stand in need thereof. And further, my will and pleasure is, that when the Lord shall please to remove either of them by death, that then that which remaineth shall be wholly entitled to the use of the other so long as either of them shall live; and if the Lord shall so dispose that anything remaineth after their death, that then what remaineth be divided, two parts to my daughter Lydia Whitney, if she be then living, and one to my son Josiah; but if Lydia be dead, that then what remaineth be divided equally to my son Josiah, if living, or such of his children as shall be living, and the children of my daughter Lydia that shall be then living. And of this my last will, I do constitute my son Josiah Jones, my sole Executor, and do earnestly desire my loving friend and brother John Stone to be overseer to assist my son in the managing of the estate so as may be best for the comfort of my poor wife and child aforesaid. And in confirmation hereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal.

Simeon Stone,
John Stone.

The mark T & seal of
Lewis Jones.

this 7th of the 11th, 1678. [January 7, 1679].

A Codicil annexed to the above will, 10, 2, 1682. [April 9, 1852.] The wife of the Testator being then deceased. As a further addition to my last will and testament, I do nominate and appoint my assured friends Simon Stone and John Stone, of Watertown, to be guardians unto my son Shubael Jones, to whose wisdom and prudence and wisdom, I do commit and send the government of my said son, and the disposal of all that estate as well as real and personal to my said son bequeathed: and I do hereby authorize and empower said guardians or the longest liver of them, to make sale of any part of my house and land, as there shall appear to them needful, for the relief of my said son Shubael Jones.

his mark.

Lewis T Jones.

Middlesex County Land Records, Book 9, page 168, December 29, 1684. By deed of this date, Josiah Jones, executor of the last will and testament of his father, Lewis Jones, late of Watertown, deceased, John Stone, overseer to said will, and Simon Stone and John Stone, guardians to Shubael Jones, as appeareth in the last will of the father or said Josiah, for valuable consideration sell and convey to Sargeant John Coolidge, of said town of Watertown, a convenient dwelling house, an orchard, and by estimation, ten acres of land, (being estate of said deceased,) bounded south with the county road, west with Deacon Dwight, north with Joseph Mason, and east with a highway."—Goodwin's *Genealogical Notes*, p. 129.

This will was approved June 14, 1684. The inventory is dated April 20, 1684, £62.2.

Issue:

1. I. Lydia Jones, *m.*, Oct. 30, 1656, Jonathan Whitney. (Issue.)
2. II. Josiah Jones, *b.* 1640.
3. III. Phoebe Jones, *b.* in Roxbury, 1645; *d.* 1650.
4. IV. Shubael Jones, *b.* Oct. 14, 1651.⁸

2.

JOSIAH JONES [Lewis¹], *b.* in 1640; *m.*, Oct. 2, 1667, Lydia Treadway, daughter of Nathaniel and Sufferanna Treadway, of Watertown. His place was near the centre of Weston, which was a part of Watertown. He was Selectman of Watertown, 1685, 1686, 1687, 1690, 1702 and 1709; was admitted freeman April 18, 1690; was a captain; was one of the original members and one of the first deacons of the church of Weston, having been elected deacon January 4, 1710.⁹ About 1690 the three portions of Watertown (Watertown, Waltham and Weston) were designated as the precincts of the three companies of Captains Bond and Garfield and Lieutenant Jones.¹⁰ February 20, 1666 he purchased of John Stone and wife Sarah, of Watertown, a farm of one hundred and twenty-four acres on the north side of Sudbury highway, about two miles from Sudbury, which said Stone had purchased May 18, 1657, of Richard Brown, late of Watertown, deceased. April 21, 1684, he sold to John Bright, for £60, his share ($\frac{1}{4}$) of the mills on Stoney Brook, with thirty acres of land, bought of Nathaniel Treadway. February 19, 1679, land bought of John Chadwick, with the houses &c. thereon.¹¹ He died Oct. 3, 1714, aged

⁸ "Dec. 29, 1684, Josiah Jones, ex'r of his father's Will; John Stone, overseer of the same; Simon Stone and John Stone, guardians of 'Suball Jones,' all of Wat., sold to John Coolidge, 10 acres in Wat., bounded S. by country road; W. by Dea. Bight; N. by Joseph Mason; E. by highway. Wit. John Chadwick, and John Newison."—Bond's *History of Watertown*, p. 814.

⁹ Bond's *History of Watertown*, pp. 311 and 814.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

¹¹ Middlesex Deeds, Vol. IX, p. 336.

74. His widow, Mrs. Lydia (Treadway) Jones, *d.* Sept. 16, 1743, in the 94th year of her age.¹²

Issue:

5. I. Lydia Jones, *b.* Sept. 25, 1668; *m.* Jan. 2, 1688, Nathaniel Coolidge, Jr.; *d.* May 21, 1718. (Issue.)
6. II. Josiah Jones, *b.* Oct. 20, 1670.
7. III. Mary Jones, *b.* Dec. 1672; *m.* July 5, 1693, John Brewer. (Issue.)
8. IV. Nathaniel Jones, *b.* Dec. 31, 1674.
9. V. Samuel Jones, *b.* July 9, 1677; *d.* Jan. 17, 1718.
10. VI. James Jones, *b.* Sept. 4, 1679.
11. VII. Sarah Jones, *b.* Feb. 6, 1681; *m.* May 20, 1704, John Warren; *d.* July 9, 1705. (Issue.)
12. VIII. Ann Jones, *b.* June 28, 1684; *m.* Joseph Mixer.
13. IX. John Jones, *b.* March 19, 1687.
14. X. Isaac Jones. *bap.* May 25, 1690.
15. XI. A daughter.

6.

JOSIAH JONES [Josiah², Lewis¹.] *b.* Oct. 20, 1670; *m.*, about 1692, Abigail Barnes, of Marlborough¹³; built a home upon the west part of his father's land in Weston and resided there; was a captain; was elected deacon, Feb. 13, 1715, as successor of his father, but declined¹⁴; died Dec. 21, 1734. His widow, Mrs. Abigail (Barnes) Jones, died in Stockbridge Nov. 4, 1749.

Issue:

16. I. Daniel Jones, *b.* Feb. 2, 1693.
17. II. Abigail Jones, *b.* Sept. 14, 1694; *m.* May 21, 1719, Col. Ephraim Williams, of Newton, subsequently of Stockbridge; *d.* at Stockbridge, Dec. 4, 1784. (Issue.)
18. III. Josiah Jones, *bap.* May 24, 1701; *d.* in infancy.
19. IV. Josiah Jones, *b.* Oct. 24, 1701.
20. V. William Jones, *b.* Jan. 4, 1707.
21. VI. Elisha Jones, *b.* Nov. 20, 1710.

16.

DANIEL JONES [Josiah,³ Josiah,² Lewis¹.], *b.* Feb. 2, 1693; settled in Colchester, Connecticut; *m.*, Oct. 13, 1720, Mary Worthington, dau. of William Worthington, of Col-

¹² Goodwin's *Genealogical Notes*; Bond's *History of Watertown*.

¹³ Goodwin's *Genealogical Notes*, p. 130.

¹⁴ Bond's *History of Watertown*, p. 312.

chester; *d.* June 18, 1740. His widow, Mrs. Mary (Worthington) Jones, *m.*, June 15, 1741, Capt. Benj. Lathrop, of Norwich, Conn., and *d.* at Norwich Aug. 4, 1770.

Issue:

22. I. Mary Jones, *b.* May 26, 1724; *d.* June 13, 1729.
23. II. Amasa Jones, *b.* Oct. 2, 1726.
24. III. Mary Jones, *b.* June 13, 1729; *d.* unmarried.
25. IV. Abigail Jones, *b.* May 1, 1732.
26. V. Ann Jones, *bap.* Oct. 5, 1735; *m.*, April 20, 1758, Nun Clark, of Lyme, Conn.
27. VI. Elizabeth Jones, *bap.* Sept. 24, 1738; *m.*, Oct. 25, 1757, Nathaniel Clark, of Colchester.

23.

AMASA JONES [Daniel,⁴ Josiah,³ Josiah,² Lewis.¹], *b.* Oct. 2, 1726; settled on his father's homestead in Colchester; *m.*, July 12, 1749, Elizabeth Chamberlain, dau. of William Chamberlain, of Colchester, who *d.* Sept. 23, 1753; *m.* again, Aug. 27, 1754, Hope Lord, dau. of Epaphras Lord, of Colchester, a descendant of Richard Lord, one of the body corporate to whom Charles I. patented the Charter of Connecticut, and of William Pynchon, one of those named by Charles I. as patentees of the Charter of Massachusetts Bay and the founder of Springfield, Mass.; was a colonel; lived in Hartford the latter part of his life, and *d.* there Feb. 24, 1785. His widow, Mrs. Hope (Lord) Jones, *d.* at Hartford Dec. 11, 1789 (born at Middletown, Conn., Nov. 22, 1736).

Issue: First wife

28. I. Rhoda Jones, *b.* Oct. 5, 1750; *m.*, July 3, 1766, Aaron Kellogg, who *d.*; *m.* again Major Bulkeley; *d.* June 15, 1807. (Issue.)
29. II. Daniel Jones, *b.* May 27, 1752; *d.* Oct. 27, 1753.
Second wife:
30. III. Daniel Jones, *b.* Aug. 28, 1755.
31. IV. Amasa Jones, *b.* July 27, 1757.
32. V. Samuel Phillips Jones, *b.* Sept. 23, 1759.
33. VI. Hope Jones, *b.* Oct. 25, 1761; *m.* Horace Seymour, of Lansingburg, N. Y., subsequently of New York, N. Y., merchant. (Issue.)
34. VII. Epaphras Jones, *bap.* Feb. 19, 1764.

35. VIII. Richard Lord Jones, *bap.* June 14, 1767.
36. IX. Abigail Warren Jones, *bap.* April 23, 1769; *m.* Capt. Charles Selden, of Troy, N. Y., merchant. (Issue.)
37. X. George Jones.
38. XI. Mary Jones, *d.* unm. at the age of 49.
39. XII. Hannah Jones, *b.* March 24, 1777; *m.*, Sept. 22, 1797, Josiah Sherman, nephew of Roger Sherman, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and merchant of Lansingburg, subsequently of Albany; *d.* March 24, 1861. (Issue.)
40. XIII. William Jones, *b.* May 18, 1779.

32.

SAMUEL PHILLIPS JONES [Amasa,⁵ Daniel,⁴ Josiah,³ Josiah,² Lewis.¹], *b.* Sept. 23, 1759; removed to Charleston, S. C., about 1784, and later went to Orangeburgh, S. C.¹⁶; *m.* in Orangeburgh, Nov. 13, 1786, Jane Bruce¹⁶ (*b.*

Charleston, 26h July 1784—

* Mr. Samuel P. Jones was recommended to me, by my friend Mr. John Franklin of New York, wherein Mr. Franklin says that 'this young Gentleman is from Connecticut, and well recommended to me, as a young Gentleman of a respectable Family, and of much veracity, and I dare say he will merit any favor received from you'—from so respectable a Character as Mr. Franklin, I can venture to confirm this recommendation of Mr. Jones—

Thos. Farr

The above young Gentleman has been recommended to me by Mr. Webb of Connecticut as a very worthy young man, & deserving of Encouragement.

Christ Gadsden

29th July 1784

Saml. P. Jones came recommended to me from Comfort & Joshua Sands Merchts of New York, as a sober industrious young man, since he has been in this State, he has always conducted himself as such, & I think merits the approbation & encouragement of all good citizens

R. Lushington

28th. July 1784—

Mr. Samuel P. Jones lived some time with me and from the experience which I had of him, I found him to be a young gentleman, who is sober industrious, obliging, and possessed of the strictest Integrity.

John Walters Gibbs

July 28th, 1784 (Originals owned by A. S. Salley, Jr.)

* I do hereby Certify that I have joined Samuel Phillips Jones and Miss Jane Bruse in holy Matrimony this 13th Day of Novr. 1786 Wm. Healty Junr. J. P. (Original owned by A. S. S., Jr.)

in Charles Town, July 1, 1764; *d.* in Orangeburgh, Feb. 17, 1802¹⁷), dau. of Donald Bruce of that place and settled in Camden, S. C., from which place he returned to Hartford about 1788; returned to Orangeburgh the latter part of 1796 and engaged in merchandizing there, living for many years in a house on the northwest corner of Amelia and Broughton streets, but removing after the death, in 1815, of Mrs. Bruce, Mrs. Jones's step-mother, to the Bruce house on the square bounded by Windsor, Bull (now Dibble), Broughton and Fenwicke streets; obtained the charter for the first lodge of Masons in Orangeburgh; introduced Bermuda grass into Orangeburgh; *m.* again, Feb. 13, 1806; Harriet Caldwell, who *d. s. p.* Oct. 28, 1806; was, in May, 1809, appointed, by Gov. Drayton, Clerk of the Courts of Common Pleas and Sessions, Register of Mesne Conveyances, and Commissioner of Location for Orangeburgh District and Commissioner and Register in Equity for the united districts of Orangeburgh and Barnwell¹⁸; retired from Clerk's office in 1822 and from Commissioner and Register in Equity's office in 1830; *d.* Feb. 5, 1836; buried in old Episcopal church-yard, Broughton Street, Orangeburgh, S. C.

Issue:

41. I. Margaret Lockhart Jones, *b.* in Camden, S. C., June 23, 1788; *m.*, May 29, 1808, George Elmore Salley (*b.* March 10, 1788; *d.* Aug. 12, 1828); *d.* at Poplar Springs, Orangeburgh District, S. C., Sept. 20, 1861. (Issue.)
42. II. Isabella Gottier Jones, *b.* in Hartford, Conn., Aug. 25, 1790; *m.* in Orangeburgh, S. C., June 21, 1832, Leonard J. Cross; moved to Houston Co., Ga., about 1837; returned to Orangeburgh a few years later; *d.* ———, 18—. (No issue.) L. J. Cross *d.* at the home of George McCree in Lowndes Co., Ga., in 1880.

¹⁷ Each of her daughters had a mourning ring. Mrs. Hope Lord Jones, of Decatur, Ga., has her mother's.

¹⁸ "Appointment by the Governor.

JOHN VINYARD, Esq. having resigned the following offices:—Clerk of the Courts of Common Pleas and Sessions, for Orangeburgh District—Register of Mesne Conveyance, Orangeburgh District—Commissioner of Locations, Orangeburgh District—Commissioner in Equity, for the united Districts of Orangeburgh and Barnwell—Samuel Phillips Jones, is appointed to the same."—*The City Gazette & Daily Advertiser*, Charleston, Tuesday, May 16, 1809.

43. III. Donald Bruce Jones, *b.* May 1, 1792.
44. IV. Eliza Campbell Jones, *b.* in Hartford, Conn., Nov. 29, 1793; *m.* in Orangeburgh, S. C., Nov. 29, 1815, Roderick Murchison, M. D., (*d.* Jany. 19, 1820) of Orangeburgh; *d.* at the home of her dau., Mrs. DuRant, Sumter Co., S. C., July 9, 1870. (Issue.)
45. V. Samuel Phillips Jones, *b.* in Hartford, Conn., Feb. 15, 1796; *d.* in Orangeburgh, S. C., Oct. 4, 1799.
46. VI. Hope Lord Jones, *b.* in Orangeburgh, S. C., April 12, 1798; *m.*, June 29, 1819, David W. Pearson (*d.* March 12, 1836), of Orangeburgh Dist.; removed to Dooley Co., Ga., in 1838; *d.* Nov. 3, 1847. (Issue.)
47. VII. A son *b.* in Orangeburgh April 14, 1800; *d.* next day.
48. VIII. Alexander Jones, *b.* in Orangeburgh Aug. 2, 1801; *d.* April 23, 1817.

43-

DONALD BRUCE JONES [Samuel Phillips,⁶ Amasa,⁵ Daniel,⁴ Josiah,³ Josiah,² Lewis.¹], *b.* in Hartford, Conn., May 1, 1792; *m.* in Orangeburgh Dist., S. C., July 10, 1817, Mary Elvira Rumph, daughter of Brigadier General Jacob Rumph, a famous Revolutionary captain of Orangeburgh Dist.; elected to the S. C. House of Representatives from Orange Parish, Orangeburgh Dist., 1826; elected again in 1830 and reëlected in 1832; removed to Houston Co., Ga., in 1837, and from there to Dooley Co. in 1844 or 1845; *d.* in Dooley Co. Sept. 18, 1853. His widow *d.* nine months later.

Issue:

49. I. Samuel Phillips Jones, *b.* April 27, 1818.
50. II. Caroline Ann Jones, *b.* in Orangeburgh Dist., Jany. 10, 1820; *m.*, Dec. 21, 1836, Rev. John Morse (*d.* Oct. 30, 1865) and subsequently removed to Dallas, Texas; *d.* Oct. 25, 1863. (Issue.)
51. III. Mary Elvira Jones, *b.* in Orangeburgh Dist., May 20, 1822; *m.*, 18—, ———Petit; who *d.*; *m.*, again, 18—, James C. Cobb; *d.* 1882. (Issue.)
52. IV. David Rumph Jones, *b.* April 5, 1824.
53. V. Jacob Christian Jones, *b.* June 25, 1826.
54. VI. George Salley Jones, *b.* Dec. 22, 1828.
55. VII. Jane Ann Jones, *b.* in Orangeburgh Dist., April 15, 1831; *m.* James C. Cobb; *d.* Nov., 1868. (Issue.)
56. VIII. Donald Bruce Jones, *b.* Dec. 6, 1833.
57. IX. Elizabeth Margaret Jones, *b.* in Orangeburgh Dist., Jany. 28, 1836; *d.* unm. in Macon, Ga., Jany. 28, 1894.
58. X. John William Jones, *b.* June 9, 1838.

49.

SAMUEL PHILLIPS JONES [Donald Bruce,⁷ Samuel Phillips,⁶ Amasa,⁵ Daniel,⁴ Josiah,³ Josiah,² Lewis.¹], *b.* in Orangeburg Dist. April 27, 1818; *m.*, Aug. 10, 1843, Caroline Elizabeth Nixon, of Macon, Ga., who *d.* Aug. 25, 1847; *m.* again, Sept. 5, 1849, Hope Lord Pearson, his first cousin; *d.* May 15, 1869. His widow resides in Decatur, Ga.

Issue: First wife.

59. I. Henrietta Bruce Jones, *b.* May 3, 1844; *m.*, Jan. 24, 1861, George Edwin Broyles (*d.* Oct. 26, 1893), formerly of Anderson, S. C. Resides in Chattanooga, Tenn. (Issue.)
60. II. Julia Ella Jones, *b.* Aug. 9, 1845; *d.* May 9, 1847.
61. III. Samuel Phillips Jones, *b.* Aug. 22, 1847; *d.* Aug. 23, 1847.
Second wife.
62. IV. Julia Emma Jones, *b.* Jan. 24, 1851; *m.*, Jan. 16, 1884, Samuel Marion Day; *d.* at Ringgold, Ga., May 4, 1885. (No issue.)
63. V. Mary Hart Jones, *b.* May 5, 1853; *d.* Sept. 18, 1854.
64. VI. Jefferson Davis Jones, *b.* Nov. 20, 1854; *d.* Sept. 2, 1857.
65. VII. Samuel Preston Jones, *b.* Sept. 24, 1857.
66. VIII. Isabella Cross Jones, *b.* July 11, 1859; *m.*, 1893, Rev. Orson Waller Branch, of the Georgia Methodist Conference; *d.* Jan. 31, 1893. (One son *d.* in inf.)
67. IX. Lee Bothwell Jones, *b.* June 1, 1865; *m.*, April 23, 1894, Mrs. Ella (Ashburn) Peacock, dau. of W. W. Ashburn, of Eastman, Ga.
68. X. William Greene Jones, *b.* May 15, 1867; killed by a shark while in bathing near St. Augustine, Fla., July 8, 1888.

REVIEWS.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION FOR 1902. 2 vols. Washington, Government Printing Office. 1903. O. pp., I. 648; II. 527.

The one article in this *Report* which concerns the South in particular is Professor Bugbee's account of the Archives of Bexar, which have been recently turned over to the University of Texas and are now being arranged and calendared by that institution. They amount to 300,000 or 400,000 pages and cover the century from 1734 to the independence of Texas. They throw a flood of light on the relations of French and Spanish in the Southwest, on the Louisiana purchase, on the Burr conspiracy and on many other events.

Other papers of special interest to students in the Southern field are Captain Mahan's inaugural address on Subordination in Historical Treatment, in which he reviews the well recognized attainments of every successful historian, emphasizes the necessity of organization of materials and the need of that interpretation which brings out the essence of the subject: "The function, therefore, of the historian is not merely to accumulate facts at once accurately and in entirety, but to present them in such a way that the way-faring man may not err in his understanding of them."

Dr. James Sullivan, in a paper on the Antecedents of the Declaration of Independence, shows that by the fifth century A. D., all the important principles of the Declaration had been enunciated. Professor Wm. McDonald holds that American Colonial History should be treated from the view that the colonies were a part of the British Empire, and that their progress should be studied as a part of the history of English colonization. Prof. C. A. Dunningway shows that the protest of the United States was only one of a number of

reasons that induced the French to withdraw from Mexico, and Prof. J. A. Woodburn treats Party Politics in Indiana during the Civil War.

Prof. J. Franklin Jameson prints a valuable series of Studies on the History of the Federal Constitution, including some new letters on the subject written by members and hitherto unpublished, a list of the letters in print and a valuable discussion of the texts of the various plans proposed.

The Winsor Prize, *The Anti-Masonic Party: A Study of Political Anti-Masonry in the United States, 1827-1840*, by Charles McCarthy, Ph. D., is printed, as is also a report on the Public Archives of Oregon. The Public Archives Commission reports pleasing progress toward the better care of public records in New York State and city, and announces as in preparation a report on the county records of Maryland by Rev. Charles W. Sommerville, and on the county records of North Carolina by Professor John S. Bassett. Considering the brilliant success attained by Doctor Bassett in his report on the public records of North Carolina, printed in the *Reports* for 1900 and 1901, we are astonished that he was not satisfied to rest forever on the laurels then won.

Volume II of the *Report* presents the sixth report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and is devoted entirely to the diary and correspondence of Salmon P. Chase. There is a calendar of Chase letters hitherto printed, a list of those here printed; Chase's diary, July 21 to October 12, 1862; selected letters from Chase, 1846-61; letters from George S. Dennison to Chase, 1862-65; miscellaneous letters to Chase, 1842-70. The whole forms, perhaps, the most valuable historical contribution of the year and throws a flood of light on the Civil War, especially the diary and the Dennison letters from New Orleans.

THE TRUE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR. By Guy Carleton Lee, Ph. D. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippin-

cott Company. 1903. O. pp., 421, with 24 illus., portraits and maps; cloth. \$2.13.

With the understanding that "true" is used to mean an impartial and unprejudiced examination of the causes, immediate and remote, which led up to the Civil War, that the author is unsectional and that he can treat his subject in the cold light of reason, seeking only to arrive at a just estimate of the men and measures which played the heavy parts in the pre-bellum drama, without fear or favor, the title is not an inapt characterization of the work to which it is given. There are many things that will please the partisans of either side; there are more that will please only the opposition, but which are still known to be essentially true.

The book itself is popular in form and appeals to the average reader, not by the statement of many facts and details, but by the statement of results based on generally accepted facts. It looks more to the philosophical interpretation of the causes giving rise to the war and to its conclusion in a particular way. The spirit and method of this book are good. Its weaknesses are in execution and its carelessness in the minuter points of history, as when Robert Y. Hayne appear as Thomas Y. Hayne (p. 63); where Lundy and Garrison are made leaders in the abolition movement, with no mention of Charles Osborn (p. 66); when it is said (p. 73) that the Quakers never took a stand against slavery in the nineteenth century as a body. The most southern yearly meetings, those of Virginia and North Carolina, certainly took such stand as a body, and as there was no higher organization than the yearly meeting they could not go further. N. P. appears as N. T. Banks (p. 120); there was no Supreme Court in the Confederacy (p. 213); Davis and Stephens were not reëlected and were ineligible (p. 214); "Fighting Joe" Hooker masquerades as Hooper, and Stanton appears as Edward M. Stanton (p. 266). The details of battles have also been attacked by

military critics. With these minor errors corrected, a perusal of the book will bring the general reader measurably nearer to a true understanding of the war and its many causes.

THE GENESIS OF LINCOLN. By James H. Cathey, n. d., n. p. [1903.] D. pp., t. p.+307; 21 ports., including dups., 1 ill.; cloth, \$1.50; paper, \$1.00; to be had of the author, Sylva, N. C.

In 1899 Mr. Cathey published under the incomprehensible title, *Truth is Stranger than Fiction; or the True Genesis of a Wonderful Man* (D. pp. t. p.+11.+185, 16 ports. 1 ill.), an account of the parentage of Abraham Lincoln. His little book struck a popular chord and has already passed through two editions. The present is the third, enlarged, with additional testimony and proofs. What is said of the first edition in these PUBLICATIONS may be appropriately reproduced for the third (III. 352-3).

The purpose of the book is to prove that Abraham Lincoln was the son of Nancy Hanks by Abraham Enloe, of Swain county, N. C.; that the father for the sake of domestic peace sent the girl before the birth of her child to some of his relations in Kentucky; that the mother married there, and that the son took the name of his putative father. The evidence used is the tradition universal in western North Carolina, testified to by many respectable persons and accepted by members of the Enloe family, and a fancied resemblance between some of the Enloes, whose pictures are published, and Lincoln. The evidence produced shows that the story has been in circulation in North Carolina since the earliest times, and that it has found many believers in Kentucky and Illinois.—Publications Southern History Association, III. 352-3.

The present edition has been extended by more than a hundred pages. These are more confirmatory letters, an

extensive account of the Enloe family and an excellent portrait of Lincoln.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF MARGARET JUNKIN PRESTON.
By Elizabeth Preston Allan. Boston and New York:
Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1903. O. pp. 378; port., cloth,
\$1.75 net.

This is the story of a literary life, the more active part of which was passed at Lexington, Va. Mrs. Preston was the daughter of a cultured father, who gave her a thorough classical training and a trend toward literature, which became the paramount feature of her life. The story of that life as here presented is told in part in the form of a literary biography, in part through letters addressed to her by literary and personal friends, and in part through a diary kept during the last three years of the war.

The letters deal mainly with war and literature. One, written December 2, 1859, from Charlestown, by her husband, Col. J. T. L. Preston, gives a most vivid account of the hanging of John Brown, and is a distinct addition to the already large literature of that subject (see bibliographies of Brown in PUBLICATIONS, I, 196-202, and III, 302-306); another, written by Mrs. Preston in 1850, is a well-drawn picture of social life among the slaves, while the post bellum letters between Mrs. Preston and Wm. H. Hayne give us insight into the hopes and fears of those who were seeking to redeem the literary South from the blight of war. Mrs. Preston's war journal, 1862-5, occupies a fourth of the volume, but is distinctly disappointing and adds nothing to our knowledge of the times till she tells her fortunes when in presence of the Federal army. There is much about Stonewall Jackson, as his first wife was Mrs. Preston's sister, and he was for a number of years an inmate of her father's house. A number of his letters are given, all of which breathe that spirit of devotion for which he was famed, but have no value besides. Colonel Preston plays small part in the biog-

raphy of his better known wife, and yet we are told that the strength of the subject of this memoir was as wife and mother.

Mrs. Preston's chief literary work was in the field of poetry. A number of her poems are printed and the volume closes with an appreciation by Prof. James A. Harrison, of the University of Virginia. He says: "Mrs. Preston was a true poet, whose spontaneous gift of poetry grew out of an ardent imagination and devotional nature cultivated to the highest degree by reading and study. Her masters in the art were first Religion and enthusiasm for the Beautiful; then Longfellow, Tennyson, Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning" (p. 377).

THE SPANISH IN THE SOUTHWEST. By Rosa V. Winterburn. New York: American Book Co. [1903.] D. pp. 224; many illus.

This interesting little volume would command much more respect did it ring true to its name. It hardly deals with the Spanish in New Mexico, which was and is today the chief seat of Spanish civilization in the Southwest. The greatest attention is paid to the Spanish missions of California, while those of New Mexico, like Jemez and Pecos, older at the time of the founding of missions in Alta California than those mission ruins are today, are unnoticed. There is a chapter on "Life in the Pueblos," which mentions neither New Mexico, the Rio Grande nor the Pueblo Indians, but discusses the Spanish towns of California. The Spanish pronunciation given is a halting mixture of Mexican and Castillian.

HISTORY OF NORTH CAROLINA. By John Lawson, Gentleman, Charlotte, N. C.: Observer Printing House. 1903. Small Q., pp. xv+143+il+145-171. *Map and facsimile title page.* To be had of the publishers. \$2.00.

This reprint of Lawson's History of Carolina, which, by the way, has never been called a History of North Caro-

lina till the present, is reproduced from a copy of the 1714 edition in the North Carolina State Library. It appears in newspaper type in double columns. Col. Fred A. Olds signs himself as compiler and supplies a preface of five pages, which is devoted mainly to the route taken by Lawson on his "Journey of a Thousand Miles Travel." He ventures to identify few of the localities through which Lawson passed, and as a result adds nothing to our knowledge of the route in question. Had Colonel Olds been acquainted with Mooney's luminous treatment of this subject in his *Siouan Tribes of the East*, he would have seen that Lawson's route was beyond doubt along the great and well known trading path from Virginia to the South, and that he passed over substantially the line of the North Carolina railroad from Charlotte to Hillsboro, and thence along the Neuse to Goldsboro. The North Carolina railroad west from Hillsboro is laid out along the line of the old Occaneechi trail, for the Indians in their turn had followed the trail of the buffalo so frequently mentioned by Lawson.

Of editing in the exact sense there is none. The present is reproduced from the 1714 edition and the compiler refers to differences between those of 1714 and 1718. The bibliographies of Lawson, however, all agree that the editions subsequent to the first in 1709 were re-issues of that one with new title pages only. It is certain that the collations are the same. If such is the case, a reprint of one edition would be a reprint of all. The reviewer does not have in hand either of the editions of 1709, 1714 or 1718. He has by him a copy of that of 1711. In the matter of capitals and punctuation, which the compiler has endeavored to reproduce from the originals, there are for the first page of Lawson's introduction 22 variations in the Olds reprint from that of 1711; but such variations might be pardoned were we sure of textual accuracy; on pp. 1 and 2 we find 16 textual variations in the Olds edition from that of 1711, and on p. 33 8 variations. Granted that the four editions of

1709, 1711, 1714 and 1718 do not vary, then the above comparison is enough to destroy all claim that the Olds reprint may set up for accuracy and at once relegates the student to the early issues. He sadly closes the new book with the conclusion forced on him that it is an inedited, inaccurate, slovenly reprint and worthless.

The Observer Company is a well organized and ambitious firm. Its directors are men of high intelligence and abounding public spirit. An edition of Lawson is much needed. Why should not this firm employ a capable scholar to prepare an edition that would be worth while, one that would reflect credit on the scholarship of the section, and at the same time be an honor to an enterprising publishing house?

There is affixed to the Lawson some extracts from Byrd's *History of the Dividing Line Between North Carolina and Virginia* (pp. 145-171). The extracts are selected by Colonel Olds, and are from the edition of 1841. As in the Lawson, the compiler shows gross ignorance of the bibliographical side of his subject, and there are many typographical and other errors in the text.

In the November issue of these PUBLICATIONS there was reference to the fact that little had been published on the career of Captain John Newland Maffitt, commander of the Confederate cruiser *Florida*. It is understood that Capt. Maffitt's widow, Mrs. Emma Martin Maffitt, has a biography of her late husband in preparation, in which she will treat his career in the U. S. Navy before the war, his work in the U. S. Coast Survey; will print his private journal kept during the Civil War, his letters and reminiscences and will perhaps reprint some articles on his service in the Confederate Navy, which appeared in *United Service* in 1882. In 1872 Captain Maffitt published *Nautilus, or Cruising Under Canvas*, a history of his life up to the time of his resignation from the U. S. Navy.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

THE VIRGINIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, January, 1904, Vol. XI, No. 3, pp. III-XXV, 225-344, yearly \$5.00, singly \$1.50, Richmond, Va.

Contents: 1. Moravian Diaries of Travels through Virginia. 18 pp., continuation of the accounts of M. G. Gottschalk of his travels in 1748. (Splendidly edited by W. J. Hinke and C. E. Kemper.)

2. Orderly book and journal of James Newell. 11 pp., one of the few original sources on the battle of Point Pleasant of 1774, mostly smallest details of military life within the organization. (Contributed from the Draper collection by J. P. Kennedy.)

3. Laying the Corner-stone of Quesnay's Academy. 3 pp., reprint from the Virginia Gazette of June 28, 1786, giving account of Masonic ceremony.

4. Virginia militia in the Revolution. (Continued.) 1 p., pay accounts.

5. The site of Old "James Towne," 1607-1698, by Samuel H. Yonge. (Continued.) 20 pp., a most thorough, scientific investigation by this U. S. Engineer in charge of the James River Improvements.

6. Virginia council and general court records, 1640-1641. 8 pp., from Robinson's notes on original material that was destroyed by fire in 1865, decrees of the court inflicting fines and punishments, with some orders.

7. Virginia in 1638-39. (Continued.) 4 pp. chiefly a petition about cattle.

8. The vestry book of King William Parish, Va., 1707-1750. 16 pp., translation of original document bearing on the Huguenot Colony at Manakin Town in Virginia. (Splendidly edited by R. H. Fife.)

9. Virginia gleanings in England. (Continued.) 12 pp., will abstracts of about 1620-1700. (From L. Withington and H. F. Waters.)

10. Some Virginia names and their meanings. 5 pp., philological study of some dozen family names. (No references.)

11. Jamestown and the association for the preservation of Virginia antiquities. 7 pp., sketch of the aims and work of the Association with regard to Jamestown.

12. Genealogy. 13 pp., bearing on the Bruce, Brooke, Herndon, Morton and Minor families.

13. Book reviews. 4 pp.

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE QUARTERLY, January, 1904, Vol. XII, No. 3, pp. 139-206, \$3.00 yearly, \$1.00 singly, Williamsburg, Va.

Contents: 1. Correspondence of President Tyler. 3 pp., three letters of 1841 and 1843 to James Iredell, John Nelson and Waddy Thompson, all bearing on politics.

2. Correspondence of Judge N. B. Tucker. 13 pp., continued, nine letters of 1840-1844; from W. C. Preston, J. B. Christian, Waddy Thompson, A. P. Upshur and B. Tucker; nearly all on politics and office getting.

3. Extracts from Virginia Gazette for 1751. (Continued.) 15 pp., largely advertisements of sales and rents.

4. Tombstones in Middlesex Co. 4 pp., continued, going back as far as 1730, including the names of Walker, Grymes, Sayre, Potter, Wormley, and Nicholson.

5. Bounds of Marston Parish, York Co. 1 p., decision over boundary disputes. (No editing, though it is original material.)

6. Marriage bonds in Lancaster Co. (Continued.) 8 pp., a list coming down to 1797.

7. Obituary of Mrs. Joanna Bouldin. 1 p., died Jan. 15, 1845; sketch reprinted from Richmond Inquirer of Feb. 13, 1845.

8. James City Co. Land grants (1695-1842). 7 pp., list showing names, dates, acreage, and locality.

9. Col. Nathaniel Pope and his Descendants. (To be continued.) 5 pp., genealogical sketch of this immigrant, who came to this country about 1637. (Prepared by Rev. G. W. Beale.)

10. Pate, Williamson, Jackson, and Anderson families. 9 pp.

11. Historical and genealogical notes. 1 p.

12. Book notices. One-half page.

THE WEST VIRGINIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, January, 1904, Vol. IV, No. 1, quarterly, pp. 75, \$1.00 yearly, 25 cts. singly, Charleston, W. Va.

Contents: 1. Raleigh's lost colony, by W. S. Laidley. 4 pp., dry narrative. (Not a reference given, all facts from general works.)

2. Adam Miller, by W. S. Laidley. 10 pp., argument against the claim that Miller was the first white settler west of the Blue Ridge. (Based largely on original sources.)

3. Catarina Beierlin, by W. S. Laidley. 2 pp., discussion of the claim that she died near Shepherdstown in 1707, thus showing early settlement there; this denied and proof given that she died in 1735.

4. District of West Augusta, by W. S. Laidley. 6 pp., some dry facts, almost without any authorities.

5. Pennsylvania boundary and West Augusta Court, by R. R. Sweet. 21 pp., controversy between Pennsylvania and Virginia, 1748-1785; list of names, with notes, in the Minute Book of the court. (Badly mixed up.)

6. Col. William Crawford, by editor. One-half page, hardly more than his name.

7. Major John Hansford, by W. S. Laidley. 6 pp., born Feb. 16, 1765, died Oct. 6, 1850; events in his life with list of children. (No sources given.)

8. Selim, the Algerine, by Rev. W. T. Price. 5 pp., story of a Moslem, captured, sent to New Orleans, turned over to Indians, escaped to Virginia; kept there in charity, died a lunatic about 1800. (Essay on stock sources.)

9. Early Germans on the Opequon, by S. Gordon Smyth. 4 pp., really a short sketch of Rev. J. C. Stoevers, Jr., with some church records, of baptisms, of about middle of eighteenth century. (Some sources given, but not clearly.)

10. Wizzard Clip, by W. S. Laidley. 4 pp., a ghost story of about 1800, taken from "Eastern Pan-Handle."

11. John Duke of Berkeley, by S. G. Smyth. 2 pp., based on an account book of 1745; chiefly genealogy.

12. Hennepin's new discovery, by editor. 1 p., mere notice of the new edition by Thwaites.

13. Annals of Carnegie Museum, by editor. 1 p., some facts from Publications of this museum on Va. controversy.

14. Lyle on the church, by editor. One-half page, mention of a theological work of 100 pages by Rev. Geo. T. Lyle, published 1902.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, January, 1904, Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 104, \$3.00 yearly, 85 cts. singly, Nashville, Tenn.

Contents: 1. John McCormick Lea—The ideal citizen, by R. A. Halley. 30 pp., born Dec. 25, 1818, died Sept. 19, 1903; many facts, not many exact dates. (Judicial, but no sources given.)

2. Judge John McCormick Lea—An eulogy. 16 pp.

3. Remarks of Col. George C. Porter before the Tennessee Historical Society, Nov. 10, 1903, on the death of Judge John M. Lea. 6 pp.

4. Remarks of G. P. Thruston before the Lea Memorial meeting of the Tennessee Historical Society, Nov. 10, 1903. 2 pp.

5. Remarks of Col. J. B. Killebrew before the Lea Memorial meeting of the Tennessee Historical Society, Nov. 10,

1903. 1 p. (All these papers on Judge Lea are high tributes to his characters; all are temperate and balanced.)

6. *Annals of a Scotch-Irish Family: the Whitsitts of Nashville, Tenn.*, by William H. Whitsitt. (Continued.) 25 pp., going back to 1741. (Not in the scientific style of genealogy.)

7. *Dunlap-Jackson Correspondence.* 22 pp., four letters of 1831 passing between R. B. Dunlap and Andrew Jackson; bearing considerably on Calhoun and the Florida affair.

THE GULF STATES HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Vol. II, No. 3, November, 1903, pp. 137-232, Joel C. DuBose, editor, Montgomery, Ala., \$3.00 yearly, 50 cts. singly.

Contents: 1. Some account of Indian affairs, by Sutton S. Scott. 18 pp., reminiscences of several prominent Confederate officers, with sketch of work for Indians by this Confederate commissioner. (Most interesting contribution to knowledge, fortified with authoritative references.)

2. *The Ku Klux Testimony relating to Alabama*, by Walter L. Fleming. 6 pp., condensed abstract of the two thousand pages of testimony taken in 1871. (Scientific, strong.)

3. *Historical notes of Milledgeville, Ga.*, by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, Ph. D. 11 pp., mainly items from official records. (Original material, showing that much historical data exists through that section.)

4. *Alabama and Territorial Expansion before 1860*, by William O. Scroggs. 14 pp., sketching filibustering movements against Texas, Cuba, and Nicaragua. (Foot notes; on stock sources in part, and on newspapers.)

5. *Early missions of the South (Florida)*, by Anne Bozeman Lyon. 7 pp., essay only on work of Catholic priests in Florida, showing thirty-two missions and twenty-six thousand converts.

6. *Early newspaper files in the Library of Emory College, Ga.* 2 pp., contributed by E. M. Blank and U. B. Phillips; some files back to 1826, none very full.

7. Winfree, of Va., by Mrs. Wm. C. Stubbs. 7 pp., compiled from official sources, such as county records and parish registers. (Addition to knowledge.)

8. Documents. 11 pp., eight letters to William Dixon, 1794-1803, from his parents, uncle, and James McCreery, mostly family matters bearing on early Irish immigrants.

9. Minor topics. 8 pp., extracts from South Carolina Gazette of 1732, compiled by A. S. Salley.

10. Notes and queries, 1 p.; historical news, 4 pp.; book notes and reviews, 4 pp.

THE SEWANEE REVIEW, January, 1904, Vol. XII, No. 45, pp. 128, quarterly, \$2.00 yearly, 50 cts. singly, Sewanee, Tenn.

Contents: 1. The aims and methods of Literary Study, by W. P. Trent. 18 pp., that more people strive to draw near to "ideal beauty, truth and goodness" in literature than in other mediums. (Very vague.)

2. The Poe-Chivers tradition reëxamined, by Alphonso G. Newcomb. 15 pp., detailed study of the controversy over the charge of plagiarism of these two poets from each other, with conviction that each was indebted to the other though Poe, not much so to Chivers.

3. Lucretius, by R. B. Steele. 8 pp., that Lucretius stands nearest to ourselves of all Roman poets; analysis of chief traits of character. (Essay, no references.)

4. A study of Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound," by Lilian Steichen. 8 pp., comparison with Shelley's other poems and with Goethe's Faust. (General treatment.)

5. A Frenchman's impressions of Maryland and Virginia in 1791, by Bernard C. Steiner. 21 pp., review of a rare book of travels by C. F. M. Byard. (Very interesting, many extracts.)

6. The black belt, by Ulrich B. Phillips. 4 pp., review of Carl Kelsey's study of the negro; favorable.

7. The college literary society, by Henry N. Snyder. 13 pp., that the literary society has declined because of greater stress upon science and industry, and change in type of teacher, and increased interest in athletics and fraternities; urges revival even to make membership compulsory.

8. The Eastern question, old and new, by Arthur R. Gray. 21 pp., rapid sketch of past three centuries of relations of Turks, Russians, Balkans, England, and Europe generally; predicts dissolution of Austria. (Essay.)

9. Reviews, 13 pp.; Notes, 3 pp.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, January, 1904, Vol. XXVIII, No. 109, pp. 128, quarterly, \$3.00 yearly, 75 cts. singly, Philadelphia, Pa.

Contents: 1. The manufacture of iron and steel rails in western Pennsylvania, by James M. Swank. 11 pp., sketch beginning about 1840, covering work of Carnegie and Thomson. (Mere essay.)

2. Journal of Lieut. Robert Parker, of the Second Continental Artillery, 1779, by Hon. Thomas R. Bard. (Concluded.) 13 pp., details of military life, finishing with a poem on Cornwallis.

3. Selected letters from the letter book of Richard Hockley, of Philadelphia, 1739-1742. (Concluded.) 19 pp., eight letters to Thomas Hyam, Thomas Penn, T. B. Vickris and Master Freame, bearing on business matters in general and something of politics.

4. Pennsylvania soldiers of the Revolution entitled to depreciation pay. (Continued.) 14 pp., lists of those receiving pay from John Nicholson, Comptroller General, in 1782 and 1783.

5. Penn's proposals for a second settlement in the Province of Pennsylvania. 1 p. and frontispiece, covering Penn's effort for a second settlement; *facsimile* broadside.

6. Francis Campbell, by Charles H. Browning. 8 pp.,

perhaps born in 1737; meagre sketch with genealogy of some descendants.

7. Letters of Christopher Marshall to Peter Miller, of Ephrata. 7 pp., four letters, 1773-1777, from Philadelphia, bearing on religion and public affairs.

8. The furniture of our ancestors. (Continued.) 5 pp., catalogue of the cabinet ware manufactured by B. Lehman in 1786, descriptions and prices. (Original material.)

9. Ship registers for the port of Philadelphia, 1726-1775. 17 pp., covering vessels, masters, owners, place of building and tonnage.

10. Notes and queries and book notices. 28 pp., containing a remarkable love letter of 1696 from Rev. E. Keach, school experience of I. Pemberton in 1698 and genealogy material on John Walker and the Rose family of Ireland.

THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, January, 1904, Vol. II, No. 1, quarterly, pp. 152, yearly \$2.00, singly 50 cts., Iowa City, Iowa.

Contents: 1. The first elections under the Constitution, by Charles Oscar Paullin. 30 pp., covering the choice of President and Congressmen, prepared for the Historical Seminary, of Chicago; on legal and statistical sides. (Scientific, detailed.)

2. Some Iowa mounds—an anthropological survey, by Duren J. H. Ward. 35 pp., covering eighteen groups, with maps and charts. (Exact measurements, scientific.)

3. The origin and history of the Iowa idea, by George Evan Roberts. 14 pp., aiming, with extracts from platforms and speeches, to give sketch of the proposal for tariff revision in that State. (Political essay laboriously trying to show that lowering of tariff rates is entirely different from tariff reduction—that there is much difference between tweedledum and tweedledee.)

4. Shelby County—a sociological study, by John J. Louis. 19 pp., rapid sketch of natural conditions and human de-

velopment. (Almost no authorities; from this paper, sociology is only half baked vagueness of immature generalizations.)

5. The Iowa Daughters of the American Revolution, by Caroline Clifford Burbank. 14 pp., sketch of the work of different chapters of the D. A. R. (very similar to what is published in the *American Monthly*, though more condensed.)

6. Some publications, reviewed. 11 pp.; notes and comment, 26 pp. (very full and very self-conscious.)

An index of 32 pages to Vol. I has been distributed.

THE GENEALOGICAL QUARTERLY, October, 1903, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 161-240, yearly \$3.00, singly 75 cts., Boston, Mass.

Contents: 1. Marriages and Deaths in Georgia Colony, 1763-1800, compiled from newspaper files, by William Alfred Bishop. (Continued.) 8 pp., copied from the *Georgia Gazette*, which first appeared in 1763.

2. Records from the old cemetery at the "Green," Middleboro, Mass., collected by Charles M. Thatcher. (Continued.) 6 pp., alphabetically arranged from Bryant to Eddy.

3. Lay subsidy rolls for Stogumber, Somersetshire. Lay subsidy hundred of Williton and Freemanners, 1st Charles I, 1625, copied by George F. Tudor Sherwood. 2 pp.

4. Genealogical gleanings in England, by Henry F. Waters. Edited, arranged and completed by Lothrop Withington. (Continued.) 16 pp., alphabetically from Aldworth to Allsopp.

5. Vital records from the *New Hampshire Gazette*, 1765-1800, collected and arranged by Otis G. Hammond. (Continued.) 12 pp., mostly deaths.

6. Genealogical records of Harpswell, Me. (Continued.) Jaques-Merryman. 4 pp., usually only one generation of names.

7. Early records of the first church of Cambridge, Mass., copied by Stephen P. Sharples. (Continued.) 34 pp., lists of those who owned the covenant and were baptized, with a *facsimile* of a part of records, and with some ecclesiastical forms of baptism, ordination and other matters.

CONFEDERATE VETERAN, February, 1904, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 52-94, \$1.00 yearly, 10 cts. singly, Nashville, Tenn. The most of this number is filled with history reports and addresses, which add but little to the sum of knowledge of the Civil War, though they may be very valuable in sustaining interest in the work of the organization. There is one very unusual list, the holidays in fifteen Southern States fixed by law. It seems to be complete, and includes thirty days, though not all are the same in every locality.

THE LOST CAUSE, December, 1903, Vol. X, No. 5, pp. 65-80, \$1.00 yearly, 10 cts. singly, Louisville, Ky. An interesting contribution in this number bears on the medical service of the Confederate army by E. D. Newton, composed largely of original material in the shape of letters and expressions quoted.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW for January prints Henry Charles Lea's inaugural address before the New Orleans meeting of the American Historical Association on Ethical Values in History, in which he takes for a text Lord Acton's exhortation to the historian: "Suffer no man and no cause to escape the undying penalty which history has the power to inflict on wrong;" and shows that this would indicate "comfortable assurance that we have attained to that absolute knowledge of right and wrong which enables us to pass final judgment on the men of the past." He then shows that "crime is largely conventional, dependent not on an eternal and imprescriptible moral law, but on the environment in

which a portion of mankind happens at the time to be placed." He illustrates this by the religious struggles of the Middle Ages and by the career of Philip II of Spain, and concludes: "To depict a man like Philip as a monster of iniquity, delighting in human misery, may gratify prejudice and may lend superficial life and vigor to narrative, but it teaches in reality no lesson. To represent him truthfully as the inevitable product of a distorted ethical conception is to trace effects to causes and to point out the way to improvement. This is not only the scientific method applied to history, but it ennobles the historian's labors."

Other articles are the Podesta of Siena, by Ferdinand Schwill; the Merchant Adventurers at Hamburg, by William E. Lingelbach; Naturalization in England and the American Colonies, by A. H. Carpenter; French Influence on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, by C. A. Duniway; original documents of William Paterson on the Federal Convention of 1787; many book reviews.

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY MAGAZINE, January, February, March, 1904, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, 2, 3, pp. 98, 99-198, 203-298, \$1.00 yearly, 10 cts. singly, Washington, D. C. (organ D. A. R.)

These three numbers contain the usual work of the chapters and other organization matter and Revolutionary records, with the usual historical essays by the following authors:

Shirley Douglas Chism, Annette Fitch Brewer, George D. Alden, Marianna F. Eddy, Margaret B. Harvey, Mary Belle King Sherman, Metta Thompson, Minnie R. Laubach, Clara L. H. Rawdon, Virginia Frazer Boyle, Caroline M. Custer, Marian Hunter Wright, Ella W. Harlow, Mrs. S. G. Smith.

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET for January, 1904, is by Hon. Walter Clark and deals with the Colony of Transyl-

vania (Vol. 3, No. 9, pp. 39). Henderson's Journal, dealing with Transylvania from March 20 to July 25, 1775, of which the original is in the Draper Collection in the Wisconsin State Historical Society, is printed.

The February issue prints Social Conditions in Colonial North Carolina, by Alexander Q. Holladay. It is headed with a subtitle, "In Answer to Colonel William Byrd, of Westover, Virginia," and is an answer which does not reply to Colonel Byrd's criticisms written in 1728. After raging through thirty pages and covering the whole of the eighteenth century Mr. Holladay sits down out of breath, leaving his reader out of patience and with the profound impression that as an historian Mr. Holladay has missed his calling.

NOTES AND NEWS.

MEETING OF THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—It will be a matter of pleasure to all historical students that this society is still so well supported financially. The last meeting, on Dec. 18, 1903, showed a slight falling off in membership, but a more favorable balance on the treasurer's report. A number of donations of books and works of art were noted. The outlook for greater activity in publication was very bright and a number of most interesting lines were pointed out as likely to be followed during the current year.

Especially to be commended is the firm tone of the president, when he insists on business methods on the part of members in paying their dues promptly. Officially another forward step was taken by the Executive Committee in resolving to drop all delinquents, as it was not right to allow them to receive the magazine free at the expense of their punctual fellow members.

The permanent fund is now over \$4,000. The membership is 750. The receipts are about \$4,000 and expenditures are some \$500 less.

COLONIAL LOVE LETTERS.—If we are to judge from the high flown expressions the Rev. Elias Keach used in his letter of Aug. 24, 1696, to a widow, Mrs. Mary Helm, lovers in those times must have been literally consumed with affection. In the January Pennsylvania Historical Magazine we have his long letter all dealing with this tender passion in the style of the following as he winds up with his heart sick appeal: "Not be destitute of hope that the silver streams of my dearest affection and faithful love will be willingly received into the mill pond of your tender virgin heart, by your hauling up the flood gate of your virtuous love and affections, which will consequently turn the wheels

of your gracious will and understanding to receive the golden grain of effects of my steadfast love and unerring affection."

COLONIAL DISCIPLINE.—School masters in those days were not apt to be very tender in handling violations of conduct. One of them in Philadelphia in 1698, as related by the boy of thirteen years, "beat me very much with a thick stick upon my head until the blood came out, and also on my arms until the blood started through the skin, and both were so swelled that the swelling was to be seen so that it caused my clothes to stand out and the flesh was bruised that it turned black and yellow and green!" Thus we learn from the original on page 109 of the January Pennsylvania Historical Magazine.

MONUMENT TO BILL ARP.—A movement has been started to erect a memorial to Major Chas. H. Smith, better known as Bill Arp, the popular humorist. His contributions to literature appeared weekly in the *Atlanta Constitution* for a number of years and were widely read and extensively copied. There runs through all his writings a vein of kindness and charity, almost untouched with any feeling of bitterness.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
SOUTHERN HISTORY ASSOCIATION.

VOL. VIII.

MAY, 1904.

No. 3.

JOURNAL OF WILLIAM CALHOUN.

ANNOTATED BY A. S. SALLEY, JR.

William Calhoun was one of four Calhoun brothers who came to South Carolina from Augusta County, Virginia, in 1756, and settled on Long Cane Creek in what is now Abbeville County. He was for some years a justice of the peace, and this little journal, which has his name written in lead pencil across the outside cover and bears conclusive internal evidence of having been his, contains a mixture of accounts, personal notes, official records and family records. It covers no particular period, the accounts and personal notes coming between 1760 and 1770, some family records earlier and some later. It contains references to many of the early settlers of the Up-Country of South Carolina and a few records that will be of great value to many families of that section, for it is to such contemporary records in private hands that we must turn for genealogical data about Up-Country families, as in none of the old districts of South Carolina, save Charleston District, were probate court and mesne conveyance records kept prior to 1785, and most of the districts were not established until 1798. And, moreover, the Presbyterians of the Up-Country kept no such excellent vital records as did the church people of the Low-Country, so that very little is to be gathered about the families of that section from public sources.

The little book is now in the hands of Miss Eliza Calhoun, who lives at the Louise Home on Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C. It is six inches long by three and a half wide, containing sixty-two pages, of which thirty are entirely blank. The cover of the book is apparently of heavy tough brown paper, double sheets, stitched together around the edges. The ink has slightly faded but is perfectly clear except in a very few places. The handwriting is very cramped and the exact spelling of some of the proper names cannot be guaranteed. The accounts were presumably all settled as all were marked off—with crosses mostly, and with a line drawn up and down in other places.

	B	
Robert Messer to Corn	3	$\frac{1}{2}$
William Crafart ¹ to Corn	3	1763
Samuel Patton to Corn	6	$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$
Samuel Patton for potatoes	£0-5-0	
Samuel Patton of ye above act		
is due	£0-11-0	
& also 2 quarts of Liquir		
Robert Clark one gallon—dito		
Thomas Holms one quart—dito		
Will ^m Neels 2 quarts—dito		
Samuel Patton 2 quarts—dito		
Samuel Patton is dew in all	£1-0	
Thomas Holmes—1 pint ditto		
John Mills—1 quart ditto		
James Thompson 1 pint ditto		
James Cain 3 gallons ditto		
James Cain 1 quart—ditto		
John Mills dew in all	£2-2s. 2d	
John Breezeal dew 2,	5-0	
James Cain dew—£7-6-7-6 more		
Remains yet—0-9		
dew to Jo ⁿ Breezeal	0-3-3 $\frac{1}{2}$	

1762.

Set from home ye 20th of December and came to hard Labour² ye 21 to abranch of Little River ye 22 over Broad River ye 23 to Rock Rocky Creek where I stayed till ye 25 ye 26 My Horse died the 28 to ye Cataba River ye 29 to Archabald Crockettes ye 30 to Moses Davies ye 31 to 12 Mile Creek and so on to Virginia and arrived home again at Longe-Cane the 29th day of March 1763.³

¹ Crawford.² Hard Labor Creek.³ Before settling on Long Cane Creek, in what is now Abbeville County, South Carolina, in 1756, the Calhoun family had lived in Augusta County, Virginia, and had lands there which necessitated occasional trips to Virginia by members of the family.

John Breezeale to two Quarts of Liquor
John Mills to 2 quarts dito
John Mills to 1 quart dito
John Breezeale to 2 quarts dito
John Breezeale one half pint dito
John Breezeal 2 pints & half
John Breezeal 3-quarts ditto
1 Bushal potatoes & 2 pistareens lent
Henry Breazeel 1 quart ditto
Elisha [^a] 1 Quart Rum
Will^m Hampton to 1 Dito
Joⁿ Bole to—1 Dito
Ja^s Turnbull to 1 Dito
Alex Mc Calpen^s to lb. 8½ pork
Ja^s Thomson to lb. 13
Ro^t Bransto ½ bushal flour
 & 1 quart of Rum
Alex^r McCalpen 1 bushal flour
Rob^t Morris 1 bushal of flour
Ja^s Briningham ½ bushal flour
Alex^r McCalpen, lb. 9¾ of beef
Will^m Walker 1 quart of Rum
Will^m Walker 1 quart of Rum
Will^m Hamilton 1 quart Rum
William Hamilton 3 qrts. Rum
Thomas Litle—1 quart of Rum
Arther Gray ½ quart of Rum
Jeramiah Cloud 1 pint Rum
Arther Gray ½ quart Rum
Robt Crayns 1 pint Rum
Ebenezer Wastcot 1 pint of Rum
Andrew Pickens 1 pint of Rum
Edward Magarry ½ quart of Rum

^a Undecipherable name.

^s McAlpen.

Thomas Creser 1 pint Dito S 12-6
 Thomas Creser 1 pint $\frac{1}{2}$ Dito
 Arther Gray 1 pint of Rum
 Arch Croford £0-2-6 for Rum
 Hugh Midelton 1 pint of Rum
 Robert Brayens 1 pint Dito
 Hugh Midelton 1 pint of Rum
 Arther Gray 1 pint of Rum
 Samuel Reve 1 pint of Rum
 Hugh Midleton 1 pint of Rum
 Robert Clark 5 quarts of Rum
 Thomas Creser 4 gallons of Rum
 Samuel Patton 1 pint of Rum
 Joseph Carmichal 1 pint of Rum
 Thomas Creser 1 pint of Rum
 Thomas Weems to flour £1-17-0
 Received from him— 0-11-6
 John McGill to wheat 0-17-6
 Received from him 0-12-6
 Thomas Litle to a Sow— 3-10-0
 Received from him 3-02-0
 &—6
 upon the balance of all acts
 Robert Brayens is dew £0- 4-6
 Alex^r McCalpine— 1 : 4 :8
 Robert Brayens to depon. 0:12:6
 Jo^a Anderson to depon. 0:12:6
 Henry Baker to depon 0:18:9
 & Summons
 Theobald Machen to depon. 0:12:6
 John Miles to depon. 0:12:6
 Received from John Mills £3: 2:0
 & also at another time 1: 1:0
 Henry Baker to 1 quart Lickour
 Henry Baker 2 quarts dito

Thomas Holms $1\frac{1}{2}$ galon dito
 lent to Thomas Holms £0-7-6
 Thomas Holms to Summons 0-6-3
 Thomas Holms $1\frac{1}{2}$ gallon ditto
 Thomas Holms 1 gallon ditto
 Thomas Holms $1\frac{1}{2}$ gallon ditto
 Thomas Holms to Summons £6:3
 John Anderson £0-9
 Peter Collince 2 pints d^e 10 S. 0
 Absalom [^e] £0-15
 Willis Breazeal to one gallon of likour
 John Mills to 3 bushals of Corn £1:10:0
 John Mills to Beef 3:15:0
 Michael Finey to flax seed 0:12:6
 Michael Finny to one bus^l pears 1: 0:0
 Michael Finny to 55 pounds of pork 1:18:4
 Michael Finny to a Bull Skin 2: 0:0
 Michael Finny to a cow 12:10:0
 Received of Hen price 11:00:0
 Michael Finny to a Bull 7:10:0
 Michael Finny to Six Bushals
 and ahalf of Shelled Corn
 & ten Bushals and ahalf in ears
 every Bushal of ears, has half a bushal and five quarts
 shel'd Corn
 John Miles to 166 Wt. of pork at £5-15-0
 Thomas Litle to 145 Wt of Pork at £5-3-0
 Thomas Litle to 9 Bushals of Corn £2-0-0
 Patrick Calhoun, Sinr' $3\frac{1}{2}$ Bushals of Rye £2-3-9
 Thomas Litle to five Bushals & ahalf of Corn at £2:15-0
 Thomas Litle to five bushals & ahalf of Corn at £1-5-0
 June ye 16-1764

^e Undecipherable name.

^r Patrick Calhoun, Sr., was William's brother; Patrick, Jr., his nephew, son of his brother, Ezekiel. Patrick, Sr., was the father of John C.

James Cane & Robert Edwards to —lb 60 of flour
 Patrick Calhoun, Sinr lb. 28 of flour
 Thomas Litle to 1 12 of flour
 Thomas Creser to 1 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ of flour
 Given to ye french^a 1 219 of flour
 Given to ye french 6 bu^{ls} of wheat
 Joseph Carson to a Sow £2:10:0
 James Thomson 2 bu^{ls} wheat 1:10:0
 Rec^d from him half adays work
 Rebecka Carson, 5 months work
 for a Cow, given ten days work
 Came here again 13 day February
 Joseph Carson to 62 Wt. of pork at £2:3:6
 Given to ye french one cow £11:0:0
 George Long to 29 Wt. of Bacon at 2-6 per pound £3:0:0
 Rebecca Carson d^r to £1-10-0
 George Long to 19 Wt. of Bacon & 6 of Butter at 2-6 pr
 pound £2-10
 Rebecca Carson on ye Ballance of act. is dew £5:10:0
 here 9 days more
 Thomas Litle to two Bushals of Corn
 Thomas Litle to two Bushals of Corn at £2:0:
 Thomas Litle to five Bushals Corn
 Received of Mary Colins 2 W^t of skin
 Mary Collins one quart of Liquor
 Mary Collins one quart dito
 Alex^r Wills 5 quarts dito
 John McKinly 2 quarts dito
 Samuel Reve 1 quart ditto
 George Burk 8 gallons ditto
 Joseph McClosky 6 quarts ditto
 David McClosky 2 pints ditto
 Joseph Carson 1 quart ditto

^a A number of French Protestants settled in what is now Abbeville County between 1760 and 1766.

lent to Mary Collins £0:9:6
Moses Davies 2 gallons of liquor
Will^m Craford 1 gallon & 3 quarts ditto
Arther Patton 1½ gallon ditto
Benj^a Green 1 quart ditto
John Patteson 2 quarts ditto
Will^m Crawford 1 gallon ditto
Patrick White 2½ gallons and 1 quart ditto
Will^m White 2 gallons ditto
Joseph McClosky 1 quart ditto
David McClosky 1½ pints ditto
lent to Robert Meser £0:13:0
Robert Messer to 1 quart of liquir
£0:9:6 at another time 1 pint
Robert Messer two quarts ditto
James Davis 1 gallon & pint dito
Will^m Wilson 2 quarts ½ pint dito
Pat. Calhoun 2 gallons 3 quarts dito
Pat. Calhoun 3 gallons & quart dito
Jas. Davis one gallon — ditto
Robert Messer one pint dito
Robert Messer for fees £1:11:0
Jas Lochenedy to one quart dito
James Armstrong for fees £0:8:9
lent John Armstrong 10 pistareen
Received of Robert Messer £0:9:2
Robert Messer to one pint ditto
Robert Messer to 2 quarts ditto
Robert Messer to 1 pint ditto
Robert Messer 1 pint ditto
Robert Messer 1 gallon ditto
Absalom Hooper 1 quart ditto as also £1-17-6
John Pattison 1 bushal of malt
John Pattison 1½ quarts lickour
John Pattison 2 pints ditto

John Pattison 1 gallon ditto
 John Pattison 1 pint ditto
 Samuel Newberry's⁹ Note £3—:10:6
 W^m Davies note came to 3:2:3
 David Alexander to one gallon of Liquour £1:5:0
 Olevir Walker one quart ditto
 James McFaren¹⁰ one quart ditto
 William Walker one quart ditto
 Robert Hunter 2 pints ditto
 Robert Hunter 1 quart ditto
 Robert Hunter 3 quarts & 1 pint ditto
 Robert Messer 1 quart ditto.
 Hugh Colhoun¹¹ 1 quart dito
 Remains dew by Rob^t Hunter S. 9:10
 Robert Messer to 3 pints ditto.
 Peter Collins to 1 pint ditto.
 Benj^a. Green, 1 pint ditto
 Benj^a. Green 1 pint d^o
 Robert Messer 1 pint d^o
 James Thompson 1 pint d^o
 £0-3-9 as also for fees 9-17-6
 Robert Messer 2½ pints d^o.
 Robert Messer 2 quarts d^o
 lent to Rob^t. Messer 3 dollers
 Robert Messer 3 pints d^o. 1 pint more
 Pat. Calhoun, For 3 quarts & 1 pint Liquir.
 Rec'd from him one doller.

⁹ It has been suggested by one writer that old Newberry District—now Newberry County—got its name from a family and in refutation of the theory it has been suggested that no such name ever obtained in that section. This is not the first instance, however, in which this editor has found the name in that section.

¹⁰ McFadden, no doubt.

¹¹ Hugh Colhoun, who always spelled his name C-o-l-h-o-u-n, was of Fawny, County Tyrone, Ireland. We have never discovered what relation, if any, he was to the Calhouns near whom he lived in South Carolina. The Calhouns are said to have come from Donegal which adjoins Tyrone.

Alen^r. Noble 2 quarts—ditto.
 Hannas Croser one quart dito.
 Alex^a. Noble. one pint ditto.
 Pat. Downing one pint dito & also 0:12:6.
 Pat Downing one pint dito.
 Pat Downing one pint—a half dito.
 Patrick Calhoun Ju^a. 3 quarts dito
 Patrick Calhoun Ju^a. one pint ditto
 Alex^r. Noble 1 pint dito.
 Patrick Calhoun Jun. 2 quarts dito
 Patrick Calhoun Jun. 4 quarts dito.
 Patrick Calhoun Sinr. 96 wt. of bacon
 Patrick Calhoun Jun. 1 quart ditto.
 John Huston 1 pint d^o. £0-3:9
 & tolding a Mare 0-10-0
 & mare 0:10-0
 James Armstrong 1 quart & $\frac{1}{2}$ pint
 James Anthon 1 quart d^o.
 Hanes¹² Cresser 6 pints d^o.
 Robert Messer—pint d^o
 Hannes Cresser 6 pints d^o.
 Pat. White Dr. £ 0-7
 William Carson 2 gallons $\begin{matrix} 2-p \\ 3 \frac{1}{2} \end{matrix}$ liquor
 Remains dew—4£ 3 Rec'd 13S.
 William Calhoun to 5 bushals Wheat.
 & one bushal of flax seed /8:d:no.
 Jo^a Calhoun 1 bushal flax seed /8:d
 upon this balance ye 8th of¹³ 1767
 August, I owe to Wm. Calhoon

¹² Hannis is perhaps the correct name.

¹³ Month omitted.

£	June ye 8th 1764	
I-15	} totle	Recd from Wm. Calhoon £ 9-16
I- 5		
3- 0		
Recd for Isaac Mathews 17:7		
paid him—& also 4:13	|	£12.
Recd from John Crawford one sadle		
paid him, £3-2 also 7-10		
Mathew Young to $\frac{1}{2}$ gallon & 1 pint of Likour £0-16-3		
Patrick White one pint d ^o .	0: 3:9	
John Eager one pint d ^o .—	0: 3:9	
David McHowel $\frac{1}{2}$ gallon d ^o —	0:13:0	
Benj ⁿ Green 1 quart d ^o —	0: 7:6	
James Hutten 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ gallons d ^o —	1:15:0	
John Hutton 2 gallons d ^o	2: 0:0	
torance M ^c gear 1 quart d ^o .	0: 7:6	
Mathew Long 1 pint d ^o	0: 3:9	
	g. q. g.	
Pat. Calhoun Jun. run ¹⁴	12:0	| 1-3
Pat. Cahoun, Sinr. run	10:2	| 5-0
James Noble's " run	10:0	|
Nov. ⁿ . ye 25 th 1760 upon ye balance of all acts		
Benj ⁿ Green is dew to me £3-18-8.		
Hugh Calhoun to Six Quarts of of Liquor	£2: 5: 0	
John Giles Dr to dito also		
James Armstrong to	0: 9: 0	
Willis Brazeal to	0: 1: 6	
Hugh Calhoun 2 gallons d ^o .	2: 0: 0	
David M ^c Closky to	0:16:10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
John Giles Dr to	0-17-6	
John Armstrong, Dr. to	1- 2-0	

¹⁴ Clearly written "run" in original, but rum may have been intended

Thomas Holms Dr. to	5- 8-0
Arther Patton Dr. to	1-19-9
Charles Williams Dr. to	0-19-6
Wm. Crawford Sinr, Dr. to	1-17-6
Joseph M ^c Closkey Dr. to	0- 6-3
Ann Williams Dr. to	0-18-9
Benj ^a Green Dr. to	1-11-0
Joshua Moor Dr. to	1-11-3
Wm. Hamelton Dr. to	0-12-6
Wm. Miller Dr. to	0- 6-3
Robert Miller Dr. to	2- 5-0
James Benningham to	0- 8-9
Robert Caton Dr. to	0-12-6
Thomas Creson Dr. to	0- 8-9
Robert Caton to 1 Quart liquor	0- 7-6
Robert Caton to 82 lb. of Beef	2- 1-0
Moses Davies 23 lb of Beef	0-11-6
Hugh Calhoun to 40 lb of beef	1- 0-0
Robt. Caton & Wm. Hutten 2 pints	0- 7-0
Robert Caton 1 pint	0- 3-9
lent in Cash to Robert Caton	6- 6-0
Robt. Caton to 1 quart	0- 7-6
Wm. Hutton to one pint	0- 3-9
Robt. Caton on Steel's act. 2 quts.	0:15:0
Robt. Caton 1 qut. $\frac{1}{2}$ pint	0: 9:4 $\frac{1}{2}$
William Hutton 1 pint	0: 3:9
lent to Robert Caton—	£10- 9-0
Robert Caton to 1 pint d ^o .	0- 3-9
William Hutton to 58 lb. of beef	1- 9-0
Robert Caton one quart d ^o .	0- 7-6
Robert Caton one pint d ^o .	0- 3-9
Robert Caton one quart d ^o .	0- 8-0
Robert Caton to 2 dollars	3- 2-0

Robert Caton to 2 dollars	3- 2-0
Robert Caton on act of swerengain	0-11-0

This side all settled	32- 3-9½
	£32- 0-9

August ye 6th. 1768 upon ye balance of all accounts

Benj ^a Green is dew	£1-16-9
Adam Eager to 5 gallons Liquor	6- 5-0
Thomas Hooper to two gallons d ^o .	2-10-0
Thomas Hooper to 1 pint d ^o .	0- 3-9
Thomas Hooper 2 gallons 1 pint d ^o .	2-13-9
Robert Morris to one pint d ^o .	0- 3-9
Robert Morris to 1 Bushal lime	1- 0-0

October ye 8th 1768 upon ye balance

James Hutton is dew to me 1-12-11

dew to Robert Messer on Absalom Hooper's
act £0-17-6

July ye 20th 1769 upon ye balance of all accounts I owe
to Alex^r McBride £3-6-8

Sent with Joseph Calhoun to town¹⁸ half joanahs 20 dol-
lars £97:10

Recd from William McClelen Constable on act of W^m Can-
ton & John Moor £8-17-0

John Moors all paid to Jo ^s Pickens, Constable & I am due to doctor Canson of this	£3:10:6
due to Mr. Pough in town	18: 0:0

due to ye treasurer ¹⁸ in ye price of a mare sold by Westcot, Constable	5: 7
---	------

¹⁸ Charles Town.

¹⁸ The Public Treasurer of the Province, no doubt. The mare sold had probably been found running at large and, having been taken up, advertised and not claimed, was sold and the net proceeds of the sale were due the Public Treasurer.

January ye 22d 1774

Recd of James Noble for presly wren £11 for a Mare
£16-4-9 in cash

Total £27:4:9

Pat. Calhoun Sinr sent with Andrew Pickens to

Charlestown in gold£49: 5:6

& In Silver 10:17:6

W^m Calhoun sent at ye time100:11:0

& ye lawyers fee in April 10: 0:0

ye first....1768.

all ye rest was in Sep^t ye 26th—1768

My expenses on ye Road | 1:13:6

for rum at Ninety-Six£0: 5: 0

for rum at W^m Lees 0: 3: 0

for ferrig at Cataba 0: 3: 0

for shooing My Horse 0:12: 6

for rum at Widow pikins 0:10: 0

at Yadkin River 0: 2: 3

at ye Moraviains¹⁷ 0: 3: 9

at Watkins 0: 3: 6

at Stewards 0: 1: 0

at Alex^r Sayers 0: 2: 3

at Love's Store 0: 2: 0

at Robert youngs for lickour 0: 1: 3

at Stantown¹⁸ 0: 2: 0

to Gabaral Joans 0: 2: 6

to shooing 2 Horses 0: 3: 3

to one quart of rum 0: 2: 6

to one quart of rum 0: 2: 6

for Corn and foder 0: 4: 6p

for Corn 0: 1: 0p

¹⁷ There was a colony of Moravians settled in the Calhoun neighborhood.

¹⁸ Stanton, Virginia.

for finding 2 Horses 0: 3: 6
 at Capⁿ Abneys for rum 0: 3: 2

1:19:11

more at other time fo S.3

2: 6: 8

2:12:11

	£		
Received in Gold,	566	15	00
in...:.....Silver	144	00	00
in.....paper	50	00	00

Andrew Pickens & Rebekah Calhoun was married ye 19 day of March, ano dom. 1765

John Eager & Elizabeth Mills was married ye 26 day of Sep^r ano dom. 1765

John Deall & Rebakah Messer was married ye 14 day of Nov^r Ano dom 1765

Absalom Hooper & Elizabeth Holms was married ye 25 day of Nov^r Ano dom 1765

Roger Martin & Sarah Benifield was married ye 17 day of december Ano Dom. 1765

William Bole & Margret Pickens was married ye 7 day of January in ye year of our Lord 1766

Robert Wilson & Elizabeth Crawford was married ye 14th of August 1766.

Nathen young & Jean Adams was married ye 3 day of Oct^r 1766.

Samuel Morrow & Elizabeth Carmichael was married ye 9th day of Oct^r .. 1766

daniel Carmichael & Margret Ramsay was married Nov^r
ye 10th 1766.

Joseph Bourchillon & Elizabeth Berand was married De^r
ye 16th 1766.

Andrew Gilleband & Janne Roquemore was married Dec^r
16th 1766.

James Mathew & Elizabeth Williams was married Janu-
ary 19th 1767.

Patrick Calhoun & Sarah McKinly was married february
ye 26th A. D. 1767.

Haness Craser & Elizabeth Wilson Was married March
ye 26th 1767

George Long & Martha Crawford was married ye third
of Sep^r 1767.

William Litle & Isable Litle was married December ye
23-1767

John Buchanan & Sarah Smith was married Decem^r ye
31-1767.

Philip Quin & Elizabeth Watson was married ye 22d of
octob^r 1767.

Alex^r Noble & katharine Calhoun was married January
ye seventh day — 1768

John Cunningham & Elizabeth Baskins was married feb-
ruary ye 22d 1768.

John foster & Elizabeth kirkwood was married ye 2 day
August 1768.

James Morrow & Janet Coune was married ye 6th of octo^r
1768

James Mulligan & Agnes Mordock was married ye 8th
of April 1769.

Zereme McGuire & Margaret Olivey was married ye 21
June 1769.

James Foster & Mary kirkwood was married ye 6th of
March 1770.

John Gamble & Elizabeth Giles was married ye 20th of february 1770.

John Wilson & Catharine Lockert was married ye 27th of february 1771.

January ye 8th 1772

Charles Boyls Convicted for swearing seven profane oaths viz. by God.

Charles Boyls Convicted a second time on ye same day for swearing one profane oath viz. by God before me.

Wm. Calhoun. Jp.

June ye 10th } Hugh Calhoun Convicted for curseing &
1769 } swearing ten oths & curses in my own
hearing. Wm. Calhoun, Jp.

My triel with Tinkler was May ye 11th 1769 the money I paid in ye Bail bond action was £116-2-1 & left ye receipt got from person with John Rutledg¹⁹ ye 13 of May 1769

We were married Octo^r ye 19 day ano dom 1749

W^m & Agness Calhoun's²⁰

Joseph Calhoun was born Octob^r ye 22 day 1750

Catharen Calhoun was born —

february ye 4 day 1753—

Anne Calhoun was Born—May ye 18 day 1755—

¹⁹ John Rutledge, the distinguished lawyer of Charles Town, subsequently member of the Continental Congress, President of South Carolina, Governor of South Carolina, Chancellor of the Court of Equity of South Carolina, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Chief Justice of South Carolina, and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was evidently Calhoun's attorney in this cause.

²⁰ "Agness Long" is written in lead pencil in the original. Joseph Long, of Augusta County, Virginia, in his will made September 11, 1757, and probated November 16, 1757, mentions his daughter "Agnes Cohoon." (Augusta County records, Will Book II, p. 210.) In all of the early records we find clerks, attorneys and others spelling Calhoun in ways as varied as the careless people of this world usually spell the name of every person who isn't named Smith, Jones or Brown.

Mary Calhoun was Born Nove^r ye first day 1757²¹
 Patrick Calhoun was born February ye 18 day 1760
 Rachel Calhoun was Born Sep^r ye 19 day 1762—
 Esther Calhoun was Born Sep^r ye 30 day 1765.
 William Calhoun was Born April ye 5th day 1768.
 Ezekiel Calhoun was Born Nov^r ye 27th—1770
 Agness Calhoun was Born august ye 29th—1773
 Alexander Calhoun was Born Decem^r the 21st 1776.
 Joseph Calhoun Departed this Life the 14th April 1817²²
 Ann Calhoun or Mathews Departed this life 19th Decm
 1830²³
 I. Calhoun Departed this life the 25th Jan'y 1817.
 Massacre²⁴ on
 Long Cane ———
 ———
 1760——

²¹ Of the three eldest daughters, Catharine is said to have been killed in the great Indian massacre of the Long Cane settlers, February, 1760; Mary to have been carried off and never rescued and Ann to have been carried off, but subsequently rescued. She married Isaac Mathews.

²² This entry was certainly not made by William Calhoun, but by a subsequent custodian of the book.

²³ The same may be said of this and the next entry. A memoir of Mrs. Mathews was prepared about the time of her death, and the MSS. is still preserved.

²⁴ Contemporary accounts of this fearful massacre may be seen in the issues of *The South-Carolina Gazette* for Saturday, February 9th and Saturday, February 23, 1760. They were reproduced by the editor of this Journal in vol. II (1903 of *The Gulf States Historical Magazine*).

THE QUAKER JANNEYS OF CHESHIRE AND
THEIR PROGENITORS.

BY MILES WHITE, JR., BALTIMORE, MD.

(Continued.)

Nothing is known regarding Thomas Janney, except what is learned from his will and inventory, and from the Parish Registers. He was a husbandman owning several tracts of land, and from the amount of his inventory, (the value of a pound being several times as great then as now,) was evidently in very comfortable circumstances, and was a public spirited and charitable man. His daughter, Maude, married William Sidebotham, May 1, 1605, and it was probably her son who was mentioned in the will of her nephew Richard Janney, dated Sept. 1, 1672, where he is described as testator's "cousin Robert Sidebotham¹² of Bredbury." Henry Janney appears to have occupied Collshawe House about 1601, and may have had a lawsuit concerning it.

II. Randle Janney, the eldest son of Thomas, married Ellen Alrodd, July 14, 1602, lived at Styall, and was *bur.* Oct. 30, 1613, having had four children, viz,

CHILDREN.¹³

III. 1. Thomas, *bapt.* June 27, 1605, *d.* 12 mo. 17, 1677, *m.* Sept 3, 1625, Elizabeth Worthington, who *d.* 12 mo. 19, 1681/2.

¹² Among the Cheshire disclaimers of gentility, 3 Sept., 1663, were Richard Heath of Chester, John Yardley of Wornsall, Robert Sydebotham of Cheadle.

¹³ Dates of baptisms, marriages and burials are taken from Registers of Wilmslow Parish. Dates of deaths of Thomas and Elizabeth from Friends Records.

IV. 2. Randle, *bapt.* May 26, 1608, *m.* July 16, 1636, Anne Knevet.

3. Heline, *bapt.* Mch 24, 1610, *d. i, bur* Mch. 3, 1611.

4. Richarde, *bapt.* Feby 20, 1613, *d abt.* 1691, *m.* Mary—.

Whether it was Randle's widow who married Thomas Cotley May 29, 1620, or whether she was the "Elen Jany Widdow" who was buried Jany. 13, 1644 is not now known. If Randle left a will it has been lost or destroyed, the inventory of his estate being all that is now to be found in Probate Registry. In 1601 he was one of the appraisers of his father's estate, and his name is given as Rondull Janyon. In 1607 he was churchwarden of Wilmslow Parish. His only daughter died in infancy, his three sons survived him, and all married and had families. Richard the youngest son did not marry in Wilmslow Parish, and whom he married is not known further than that her Christian name was Mary. They lived in Styall, whence they removed, after the birth of two of their children, to Ardwick, in Lancashire, which was near Manchester, and is now included in the limits of that town. They did not join the Society of Friends, but at least one of their children is mentioned in Lancashire Friends' Records¹⁴, though it is not clear that any of them were members.

If the Anne Janney who married at Manchester in 1710 John Royley of that place was their daughter she must have been born after 1672, when Richard's will was exe-

¹⁴The only Janney entries in Lancashire Friends' Registers are in those of Lancashire Qtl. Mtg., and Hardshaw East Mo. Mtg. These show that Randle Jenny, or Ardwick, Husbandman, and Rebekah Whittwham, of Manchester, Spinster, were married at Manchester 2 mo. 23, 1702; that Anne Janney, of Manchester, Spinster, and John Royley, of Manchester, Woolen weaver, were married at Manchester 6 mo. 29, 1710; that Thomas Janney, son of Randal and Rebecca, of Ardwick near Manchester, was born 7 mo. 15, 1703; that Rebekah Janney, wife of Randal, of Manchester, died 8 mo. 7, 1729, and was buried at Manchester 8 mo. 9, 1729; that Randal Janney, of Hardwick Green, was buried at Manchester 8 mo. 10, 1742, and was a Non-Member.

cuted. He was one of the executors of his brother Thomas, and died about November, 1690, as the inventory of his estate which was appraised at £88, 9s. 8d. by Samuel Worthington, Richard Worthington and Robert Hartley was dated 7th November, 1690. His will dated 1st Sept., 1672, and witnessed by Edward Hartley, Richard Prestwick and John Hall was proven 16 May, 1691 by Mary Janney the surviving executor, and is still preserved at Chester. In it he is styled "Richard Janney of Ardwick in the County of Lancaster, Yeoman," and by it he bequeathed the half of his tenement [no description given] to his wife Mary for life, and the other half to his son Thomas, and after wife's death her share to go to said son, Thomas. He left £10 to his wife, half a crown to son Thomas, half a crown to son-in-law John Boardman, and 10 shillings to each of his grandchildren [names not given]. Residue of his estate to be equally divided between his son Randle and daughter Martha. He appointed his wife and cousin, Robert Sidebotham, of Bredbury executors and Richard Prestwick and Richard Williams overseers. No seal was used and he signed by making his mark. By a memorandum, endorsed on the back of his will, he gave, after his wife's death, the little house [no description whatever given] to his son Randle and daughter Martha "whilst they keepe them unmarried."

From this will and the Wilmslow Registers it appears that Richard had at least four children, viz: Marye, *bapt.* Dec. 1, 1639, who *m.* John Boardman, (and was bequeathed 5s. by her uncle Thomas, in his will dated April 10, 1677); Martha, *bapt.* May 11, 1642, unmarried at time of father's will; Thomas [not mentioned in Wilmslow Registers prior to 1653], *m.* ———, and *d.* prior to April, 1677, leaving three children; and Randle, *m.* 2 mo. 23, 1702, at Manchester, Rebeckah Whittwham and *d.* 1742. He had a son Thomas *b.* 7 mo 15, 1703. It is possible that there was a

fifth child, Anne, *b.* after 1672, who *m.* in 1710, John Royley.

Thomas Janney, the eldest son of Randle and Ellen [Alrodd] Janney and Randle their second son are shown by the Wilmslow Registers to have married respectively Sept. 3, 1625, Elizabeth Worthington, and July 16, 1636, Anne Knevet. As Thomas and all his family became Friends, as also all of Randle's children, they and their families will be spoken of later.

Of the Alrodd, Knevet and Worthington families, into which the Janneys married, I have not made any extended search and do not remember having seen any mention of the Alrodds. Mr. Wm. Fergusson Irvine, Honorary Secretary of the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society and Editor of the *Cheshire Sheaf* says: "The Alroddes I should imagine were originally Oldrodes or Oddrodes of Old or Oddrode in Northwich Hundred," but the pedigree of the Rode family, as given by Ormerod, does not show any such spelling.

The Knevett family appears to have been more prominent than the Alrodd one, and a window in one of the county churches contains their arms¹⁵. The following among other Knevett wills are preserved at Chester in Probate Court:

John Knivett, of Handforth, *Inv.*, 1624; Elizabeth Knevett, of Heskin, 1661; William Knevett, of Cheadle Hulme, *Inv.*, 1666. The Will of Wyllyam Knyvett, of Thorntonbrigs, in the countie of Yorke, who is supposed to have migrated there from the South was dated 13th August 1557, and has been published in the Surtees Society Publications (Vol. XXVI, p. 97), but there is no evidence that any of these were closely related to Anne Knevet.

¹⁵ In Edmondson's and Berry's *Encyclopaedia of Heraldry* will be found mention of several Knevett Coats of Arms, most of which are Argent, a bend within a bordure engrailed sable. *Crest*, A dragon's head between two wings expanded sable.

The Worthingtons were a well known and important family of Lancashire and Cheshire¹⁶, some of whom held offices under both church and state. Both as Catholics and Friends were they persecuted on account of their religion. Mr. James Croston, in an account of the Traffords, where he is speaking of Edmund de Trafford, says¹⁷ that "In 1584 the shrievalty was held by his son, who, following in the steps of the father, made a descent upon Blainscough Hall, in Standish parish, the home of Thomas Worthington, an adherent of the ancient faith; but Worthington, anticipating his visit, fled to Rossall, where he was secreted by the widow of Gabriel, the brother of Cardinal Allen, his wife's kinsman." In Besse's *Sufferings of the People called Quakers* are accounts of other Worthingtons who were persecuted, in the next century, because they were Friends, and they were probably of the same family as Elizabeth and Jane Worthington.

Many of the Publications of the Chetham Society¹⁸ contain accounts of different members of the Worthington family, and Earwaker says¹⁹ that John Worthington married Ellen Curbishley, dau. of "John Curbishley of Styall yeoman," and died before 1710, when she is spoken of as "Ellen Worthington of Quarrell Bank widow;" and for a short pedigree of this family with additions from Wilmslow Registers, says, see Earwaker's *Cheshire MSS*, Vol. I. The manuscripts are now in the possession of the Record Society, but I have not been able to obtain extracts from them, and cannot say whether or not this John Worthington was

¹⁶ The Arms of the Worthingtons were, Argent three dung-forks sable two and one. *Crest*, A goat passant argent, in his mouth an oak-branch vert, fructed or. Another branch was, Argent three dung forks sable, on a canton ermine a dexter hand coupé gules.

¹⁷ *County Families of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 1887, p. 198.

¹⁸ See Vols. VIII, XIII, XVIII, XXIV, XXVI, XXVII, XXXI, XXXIII, XXXVI, XLII, XLVII, XLIX, LI, LIV, LVI, LVIII, LX, LXXI, LXXXII, LXXXIV, LXXXV, LXXXVIII, XCIX.

¹⁹ *East Cheshire*, Vol. I, p. 138.

the one mentioned in the will of Thomas Janney dated 2 mo. 10, 1677, and who was doubtless a connection of his wife Elizabeth. That he was the same is perhaps indicated by the fact that John Corbishley was one of the appraisers of the estate of Thomas Janney and may have been the representative of the widow.

There are many Worthington wills preserved at Chester²⁰, from which it appears that the family was widely scattered throughout the Palatinate. Among other places in which they resided were Worthington, Openshaw, Gorton, Droylsden, Burscough, Upholland, Warrington, Etchells, Anderton, Failsworth, Great Hoole, Turton, Handforth, Pownall Fee, Mobberly, Wilmslow, Overhutton, Adlington, Morley, Bolyn Fee, Pemberton, etc. The Parish Registers of Stockport and Wilmslow contain entries concerning them, as doubtless do also those of many other parishes.

When George Fox, filled with religious zeal and enthusiasm, began, about the middle of the seventeenth century, to preach his views of primitive christianity and Holy Ghost religion, which were so different from those promulgated by the clergy of that day, he found ready hearers among the rural population of Midland England, who flocked from all parts of the country to hear him. Hundreds found the spiritual rest they previously had sought in vain, many to whom religion therefore had no attractions and who had been leading dissolute or immoral lives were convinced of the error of their ways, and turned away from the things of the past, and his converts were numbered by the thousands.

Many of these early Friends were soon called upon to prove the sincerity of their actions and beliefs and the reality of their trust in God, for severe trials and persecutions awaited them, and social ostracism, pecuniary loss,

²⁰ See Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society *Publications*.

physical suffering, imprisonment and in some cases even death were patiently borne by them for truth's sake.

Of such were many of the inhabitants of Cheshire, and among others some of the families of Bancroft, Burgess, Harrison, Janney, Knevett, Pearson, Potts and Worthington.

Joseph Besse's *Sufferings of the People called Quakers*, published in London in 1753, gives accounts of many of the persecutions which these zealous and sincere Christians underwent, and the following extracts show some of the trials and tribulations to which Thomas, William, Anne, and the younger Thomas Janney were subjected on account of their religious principles.

In 1653, "John Worthington, Thomas Janney²¹, Thomas Potts, Richard Burgess, Robert Milner, and Edward Alcock suffered Distress of Goods to the Value of 11£. 10s. for going but two Miles from their Habitations to a Meeting." In 1663, "for 7£ 4 s. 10d demanded of Anne Janney²² of Hanford, Thomas Janney, jun., and James Harrison of the same, for Tithes, Goods were taken by Distress to the Value of 28£. 18s.;" and in 1664, "John Worrall, Thomas Janney and William Burgess were detained Prisoners in this County for refusing to pay Tithes," while in 1665, we read that, "Eighteen Persons, taken in a Meeting at the House of Edward Alcock of Mobberly were by Warrants from the Deputy Lieutenants of the County committed to the House of Correction at Middlewich for two Months, where they found several others of their Friends, so that they were much incommoded for want of Room, being closely kept, and none suffered to visit them, and when William Woodcock and Mary Stretch came to the Prison to see their Brethren, themselves were imprisoned for attempting it. Nor were any admitted to bring them their

²¹ Vol. I, p. 100.

²² *Ibid*, p. 104.

necessary Food, but as they received it through the Windows of the Prison. By means of this close Imprisonment in the Depth of Winter, Edward Knevett a man of good Reputation aged about seventy, and infirm of Body, fell sick and died there, before the two Months were expired, at the End of which Time the other seventeen were released; four of whom viz, Thomas Janney, Thomas Pott, Jeffery Burgess and Edward Alcock were soon after taken again at a Meeting and recommitted for four Months." In 1666, "James Harrison, William Janney, John Falkner, John Nixon, Thomas Pott, John Lamb, John Milner and Thomas Bretton, were committed to the common Goal at Chester, the former five of them for six Months and the others for three months, being convicted of having been at a Meeting held at the House of Thomas Janney at Pownal-Fee, upon the information of John Burges and Thomas Hease noted Informers." In 1671, "Thomas Janney²³ for 1*l*, 6*s*, 8*d*, and Thomas Pott for 20*s*. for Tithes claimed by Peter Ledsham Priest of Wilmslow had their Goods taken away to the Value of 3*l*. 10 *s*. each;" and in 1673, "Thomas Janney, Thomas Pott and Robert Pearson for Tithes claimed of them worth but 2*l*. 14*s*. had Goods taken from them to the Value of 10*l*., 19*s*;" and in 1683, we find that "Of those who suffered this Year²⁴ by the Statute made against Popish Recusants for 20*l*. per Month were * * * William Janney of Hanford 16*l*., 5*s*," and seven others making a total of 146*l* 11*s*. 2*d*.

The following entry is in the Churchwarden's accounts of Wilmslow Parish: "1654 Paid unto M^r Daine [Dean] at the Middlewich for the takeinge of 4 examinacons concerning Quakers 5*s*., 0 *d*," and Earwaker says,²⁵ "This is the first entry relating to the Quakers. It shows how early they

²³ *Ibid*, p. 105.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 110.

²⁵ *East Cheshire*, Vol. I, p. 112.

were established in this parish, where they have ever since been strongly represented."

Whether any of the Janneys in Staffordshire joined the early Friends or not I do not know, but in Lancashire and Cheshire I believe the families of Thomas and Randle Janney were the only ones who became Friends, and they appear to have been prominent in the Society.

R. Smith, in his book, *The Light Unchangeable*, printed in London in 1677, says²⁶, "My friends in this county have, every month, a meeting, where commonly two or three or more from every particular meeting meet together about such affairs as are requisite to keep and preserve societies in peace and unity and they who commonly meet at these places are these and more, viz., Thomas Janney, John Badily, John Sharples, Thomas Brassey, John Symcock," etc.

Thomas Evans, in his preface to *An Exposition of the Faith of the Religious Society of Friends*, says²⁷ A Testimony was given forth in the year 1679 against William Rogers, of Bristol, signed by thirty-three Friends, for having "written a book in manuscript against a book of Robert Barclay's entitled the *Anarchy of the Ranters* and approved at the Second day's meeting in London, and for having dispersed his manuscript in several parts of this nation without so much as first giving either to the said Robert Barclay in particular, or the Second-day's meeting in general, an account of his scruples or dissatisfaction concerning the said book of Robert Barclay's:" and among the 33 signers were Thomas Holmes, Thomas Jany, George Keith, William Penn and Thomas Ellwood.

Mobberley, Pownall Fee, and Morley which are near Knutsford, and Cheadle which is near Stockport were all in Morley Mo. Mtg., the minutes of which begin in 1677, and which later on was called Cheshire Mo. Mtg.; and Frand-

²⁶ P. 9.

²⁷ 2nd edition, Phila., 1828, p. xxvii.

ley which is near Warrington and was originally a separate Mo. Mtg., the minutes of which begin in 1679, is now also a part of Cheshire Mo. Mtg.; while Chester, the county town, which formerly was a part of Cheshire Mo. Mtg., now belongs to the same meeting as Birkenhead and Liverpool, owing to the ease of access to the latter place by rail.

For some years after the rise of the Society of Friends, there were no Meeting-houses built, but meetings were held in the houses of members; and the records of Cheshire Mo. Mtg. show that the houses of Thomas and William Janney were frequently so used. In 1667, 1672, and 1676, and perhaps at other times, meetings for the solemnization of marriages were held at the house of Thomas Janney, at Pownall-Fee, at one of which, 9 mo. 17, 1667, Margaret Harrison of Tatton and Jonathan Yarwood of Mobberley were married.

The ancient Meeting-house at Morley, in which a Monthly Meeting was first held in 1694, and which was attended by the early Janneys, is still standing, though no meetings have been held there since 1830. In 1831 the present house was built, which is about one and a half miles nearer Wilmslow.

There never was a Meeting-house, I believe, at Mobberley, but the burial-ground there, in which the first interment was made in 1656, was bought in 1669, and continued to be used till 1848, since which time the one at Morley Meeting-house has been used.

Earwaker says²⁸ that "The Quakers obtained a settlement in Wilmslow at a very early period in their history, and are mentioned in the Churchwarden's accounts in 1654. Their old place of Worship, near Morley Green, is now converted into cottages, and a more commodious building was erected nearer to Wilmslow about twenty years since. Their first place of interment was across Lindow Common, in a se-

²⁸ *East Cheshire*, Vol. I, p. 134.

cluded piece of ground in Mobberley parish, where some old tombstones may still be seen. This graveyard is fenced round and well cared for." I learn that it has been planted with forest trees, and the gate is kept locked; that beside the gate are the old steps which formed a horseblock, from which in days gone by the Quakeresses mounted their horses to ride on a pillion behind their broad-brimmed escorts.

From the printed account of trust property belonging to Cheshire Mo. Mtg. (1855), it appears that "Mobberley Burial Ground was in part (400 sq. yds.) purchased 20 August, 1669, for £3 from Edward Alcock and others, by "Thomas Janney, the Elder," and others, to whom it was conveyed. In 1673, "Thomas Janney, the Elder," and others, purchased an additional portion, and the whole (about 560 sq. yds.) freehold in Mobberley, co. of Cheshire, was held in trust for the Society of Friends, as a place for the burial of their dead. It was planted with trees in 1848. No interment has recently taken place. It still contains, however, several ancient gravestones which date from about 1680 downwards."

I find upon inquiry concerning the matter that among these are several of the Alcock and Potts families, also Katharine Burges, 1668, and Thomas Strettall; but that there are no tombstones bearing Janney inscriptions now standing there. Many early Friends did not use such stones, and the Janneys may have been of this number, though in most cases stones of this early date are no longer standing.

The following extracts, taken from the Minutes of Morley Mo. Mtg. show some few of the services rendered by the Janneys in the Meetings for Discipline. 3 mo. 8, 1678, Henry Janney and others appointed to speak to a Friend as to his difference with another, and other matters; 9 mo. 5, 1679, Henry Janney and another appointed to speak to a Friend "for some disorder;" 2 mo. 7, 1680, the same Friend

was admonished by "severall of the body of Friends in wimslow meeting," and amongst others by Thomas Janney, Henry Janney and William Janney. At the same meeting, Thomas Janney and others were to caution two women Friends "that they strengthen not their brothers against" another Friend; 3 mo. 5, 1680, Thomas, William and Henry Janney were to try and settle a dispute between some Friends, also William Janney and others were to minister unto a Friend "in way of supply of Cloathing & to see it done;" 6 mo. 4, 1680, the contending parties mentioned above agreed to nominate Friends to settle their dispute, amongst whom Thomas Janney was nominated; 9 mo. 3, 1680, William Janney and another appointed to admonish a Friend who absented himself from meetings; 5 mo. 26, 1681, a report as to a difference was brought in by Thomas Janney and others.

In 1837 an Act of Parliament establishing general *civil* registration was passed. Prior to that date, the only records were those of baptisms, marriages and burials kept by the incumbents of the parish and other churches; and the very complete records kept by the Society of Friends.

The Cheshire Register Books, like the rest of such books, were surrendered to the Government, and are kept at Somerset House, London. Friends made a digest of them, which is kept at the Central Offices of the Society at Devonshire Meeting-house, London, and which is easily searched. Entries therein of the Quarterly Meeting of Cheshire and Staffordshire, and of the Monthly Meeting of Cheshire show the dates and places of births, marriages and deaths of those members of the Janney family of Cheshire who became Friends; and the movements of their families are to some extent indicated by the places of their marriages and deaths, and the births of their children. Extracts therefrom have been tabulated and are given herein. The book and page numbers refer to the original books and

the pages thereof at Somerset House. There are a few evident discrepancies or errors in these entries, which I have endeavored to straighten out in a note below the table of marriage entries.

From these Friends' Records and the Wilmslow Parish Registers, as well as the wills of various members of the Janney family given herein, the chart given hereafter has been prepared which I believe correctly shows the ancestors and near paternal relatives of Thomas and the other Janneys who settled in Pennsylvania.

BIRTHS.

Book Page	Name.	Date of Birth.		Place of Birth.	Names of Parents.	Parents' Abode.	Description.	Monthly Meeting.
		Year.	Month Day.					
217-9	Janney, Jacob,	1662	3 18	Pownall fee, Cheshire, . .	Thomas & Margery, .	Pownall fee, . . . .	. . . .	Cheshire
232-150								
217-13	Janney, Martha,	1665	5 17	Cheadle, Cheshire,	Thomas & Margy, . .	Cheadle, . . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire
232-146								
217-15	Janney, Elizabeth, . . .	1666-7	11 15	Pownall fee, Cheshire, . .	Thomas & Margery, .	Pownall fee, . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire
232-144								
217-15	Janney, Thomas, . . .	1667-8	12 5	Pownall fee, Cheshire, . .	Thomas & Margery, .	Pownall fee, . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire
232-144								
217-15	Janney, Abell,	1671	10 29	Mobberley, Cheshire, . .	Thomas & Margery, .	Pownall fee, . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire
232-142								
217-19	Janney, Joseph,	1672	7 7	Hanford, Cheshire, . . .	William & Deborah, .	Hanford, . . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire
232-142								
232-140	Janney, Anne, †	1674	7 3	Hanford, Cheshire, . . .	William & Deborah, .	. . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire
217-21	Janney, Ann, †	1674	7 23	. . . . .	William,	Hanford, . . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire
232-138								
232-138	Janney, Joseph, ° . . .	1675-6	1 26	Pownall fee, Cheshire, . .	Thos. & Margery, . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire
217-21	Janney, John, °	1675	1 26	. . . . .	Thomas & Margery, .	Pownall fee, . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire
217-23	Janney, Randle,	1677	2 10	Hanford, Cheshire, . . .	William & Deborah, .	. . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire
232-138								
217-23	Janney, Elizabeth, . . .	1677	9 7	Stockport, Cheshire, . .	Henry & Barbara, . .	Stockport, . . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire
232-138								
217-15	Janney, Thomas,	1679	3 18	Hanford, Cheshire, . . .	William & Deborah, .	Hanford, . . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire
232-136								
217-25	Janney, Mary,	1680-1	11 1	Adswood, psh. of Cheadle, .	Henry & Barbara, . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire
232-134								
217-27	Janney, Mary,	1681	6 17	Hanford, psh. of Cheadle, .	William & Deborah, .	Hanford, . . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire
232-134								
217-27	Janney, Martha,	1683	8 21	Adswood, psh. of Cheadle, .	Henry & Barbara, . .	Adswood, . . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire
232-130								
217-27	Janney, William, . . .	1683	3 31	Hanford, Cheshire,	William & Deborah, .	Hanford, . . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire
232-130								
232-128	Janney, Thomas,	1685-6	1 1	. . . . .	Henry & Barbary, . .	Eaton Norris, Lancaster,	. . . . .	Cheshire
232-128	Janney, Taby,	1687	7 29	. . . . .	Henry,	Eaton, Lancaster, . .	. . . . .	Cheshire

DEATHS.

Book. Page.	Name and Surname.	Date of Death.	Age.	Residence.	Description.	Mo. Mtg. making this return.	Date of Burial.			Place of Burial.
							Year.	Month.	Day.	
235-8	Janney, Martha,†	1665-6	12 4	Parents of Cheadle Holme, Cheshire.	Daug. of Thos. & Margery Jan- ney.	Cheshire, .	. . .	. . .	. . .	Mobberley
218-11	Janey, Mary,†	1665	12 4	Parents of Cheadle Holme, Cheshire.	Daug. of Thos. & Margery Jan- ney.	Cheshire, .	1665	12	. . .	Mobberley
235-8	Janney, Elizabeth,‡	1666-7	11 17	Parents of Pownall fee, Chesh- ire.	Daug. of Thos. & Margery Jan- ney.	Cheshire, .	. . .	. . .	. . .	Mobberley
218-13	Janey, Elizabeth,‡	1666	11 17	Parents of Pownall fee, Chesh- ire.	Daug. of Thos. & Margery Jan- ney.	Cheshire, .	1666	11	. . .	Mobberley
218-25	Janney, Margaret, .	1673	11 11	Parents of Pownall fee, Chesh- ire.	Daug. of Thos. & Elizabeth Jan- ney.	Cheshire, .	1673	11	. . .	Mobberley
235-16	Janney, Randle, . . .	1674	3 17	Parents of Pownall fee, Chesh- ire.	Son of Thos. & Elizabeth, . .	Cheshire, .	. . .	. . .	. . .	Mobberley
218-31	Janney, Thomas, Sr.	1677	12 17	Pownall fee, Cheshire, . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire, .	. . .	. . .	. . .	Mobberley
235-20	Janney, Elizabeth, .	1681-2	12 19	Pownall fee, Cheshire,	Widow,	Cheshire, .	. . .	. . .	. . .	Mobberley
218-43	Janney, Martha, . . .	1684-5	12 11	. . . . .	Daug. of Henry & Barbara, .	Cheshire, .	. . .	. . .	. . .	Mobberley
235-29	Janney, Thomas, . . .	1686	8 2	Parents of Eaton in Lancaster, Eaton Norris,	Son of Henry & Barbury, . . .	Cheshire, .	. . .	. . .	. . .	Mobberley
218-55	Janney, Henry, . . .	1690	6 3	. . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire, .	1690	6	6	Mobberley
235-33	Janney, Thomas, . . .	1696	12 12	. . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire, .	1696	12	15	Mobberley
218-69	Janney, Thomas, . . .	1696	12 12	Pennsylvania, America, . . .	A minister on a visit to this, his native country.	Cheshire, .	1696	12	15	Mobberley
235-39	Janny, Ann, *	1698	12 28	Batchells, . . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire, .	1699	1	2	Mobberley
235-43	Janny, Ann, *	1699	12 28	Batchells, . . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire, .	1700	1	2	Mobberley
218-77	Janny, Elizabeth, . . .	1701	5 11 abt. 16	Parents of Hanford,	Daug. of William & Debora, .	Cheshire, .	1701	5	13	Mobberley
235-44	Janny, Deborah,†	1701	5 20 abt. 54	Hanford,	Wife of William,	Cheshire, .	1701	5	22	Mobberley
218-76	Janney, Rebecca,†	1701	5 20	Hanford,	Wife of William,	Cheshire, .	1701	5	22	Mobberley
218-151	Janney, William, . . .	1724	8 4 abt. 86	Morley, . . . . .	. . . . .	Cheshire, .	1724	8	6	Mobberley
235-64										

MARRIAGES.

Book. Page.	Name.	Residence.	Description.	To Whom Married.			Date of Marriage.	Monthly Meeting.
				Name.	Residence.	Where Married.		
229-1	Janney, Thomas,	Pownall fee, Cheshire.	. . . .	Margary Heath, .	Horton, Staffordshire,	James Harrison's house, Pownall fee.	1660	Cheshire
229-3	Janney, Mary, .	Hanford, Cheshire,	. . . .	John Bancroft, .	Etchells, Cheshire, .	James Harrison's house, Pownall fee.	1663	Cheshire
229-5	Janney, Mary, .	Pownall fee, Cheshire.	. . . .	Robert Peirson, .	Pownall fee,	Ellen Hulme's house, Pownall fee.	1663-4	Cheshire
229-11	Janney, William,	Hanford, Cheshire.	Yeoman,	Deborah Webb, .	Inkstreay,	Thomas Taylor's house, Stafford.	1671	Cheshire
219-21	Janney, Henry, .	Pownall fee, Cheshire.	Talor, .	Barbara Baguley, .	Stockport,	Thomas Potts' house, Pownall fee.	1674-5	Cheshire
229-23	Janney, Martha, .	Pownall fee, Cheshire.	. . . .	Hugh Burgess, .	Pownall fee,	Thomas Janney's house, Pownall fee.	1672	Cheshire
229-15	Harrison, James,	Kendal, Westmoreland.	. . . .	Anne Heath, . .	Horton, Staffordshire,	. . . . .	1655	Cheshire

NOTE.—The following are suggested as solutions of the discrepancies or errors in above Tables of Births and Deaths. Books 232 and 235 seem to be more accurate than 217 and 218.

BIRTHS.—† Anne, *b.* 7-3-1674, and Ann, *b.* 7-23-1674, are both described as Dau. of William, of Hartford, and are evidently the same person.
 † Joseph, *b.* 1-26-1675, are both described as Son of Thos. & Margery, and are probably meant for the same person, though they may possibly have been twins. As John is not mentioned elsewhere, I believe both refer to Joseph, who in his grandfather's will appears to be mentioned as Joel.

DEATHS.—† Martha, *d.* 12-4-1665-6, and Mary, *d.* 12-4-1665, are both described as Dau. of Thos. & Margery, and are doubtless meant for the same person; and Martha is probably the correct name, as her birth is recorded in both books.
 ‡ Elizabeth, *d.* 11-17-1666-7, and Elizabeth, *d.* 11-17-1666, one spelled Janney and the other Janey, are evidently the same person, both being described as Dau. of Thos. & Margery.

* The two entries of death of Ann, 12-28-1698 and 12-28-1699, refer evidently to same person, the date being 12-28-1698-9. Whether she was wife of Radle Janney and *mother* of William, or the *daughter* of William, I do not know, but think she was probably wife of Randle, and lived with her dau. Mary Bancroft at Etchells.

† Deborah, *d.* 5-20-1701, and Rebecca, *d.* 5-20-1701, are both described as wife of William, and are evidently meant for the same person, and Deborah is the correct name.—(Continued.)

RECONSTRUCTION DOCUMENTS.

SEWARD AND THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT.

CONTRIBUTED BY DUANE MOWRY, OF MILWAUKEE, WIS.

[The letter which follows exposes to public view the sentiments of a resident of the South at or about the period immediately succeeding the Civil War. There is no date on the letter, and there are no certain data among any of the papers and documents of the late ex-Senator Doolittle which fixes the time of its writing, or of its receipt. Nor is it quite apparent what speech made by Judge Doolittle the writer has in mind. He is, evidently, semi-critical of the views expressed by Mr. Doolittle, and it would appear to have been written shortly after the war, perhaps, in 1865, certainly, not later than 1866. Judge Doolittle's term in the Senate expired in 1869.

There is nothing to indicate with certainty who "J. Smith" is, or whether he is a real personage or a supposititious name only. The letter is evidently written with care and with much apparent sincerity. The paragraphing and capitalizing belong to the author. The writing is excellent. It would be impossible to fail to decipher a single word. The author's letter shows some knowledge of our political history preceding the Civil War.

It would be interesting to know what was Judge Doolittle's reply to this letter. It is our opinion that one was made, but, if made, there is, unfortunately, no record of it among his private papers and writings. Mr. Doolittle was not a man who was afraid of his convictions nor was he afraid to express them. And as this letter is in the nature of a criticism of his speech, he would not hesitate to give

the writer a full and complete personal reply thereto, if cessation from his public duties permitted it.—D. M.]

ATLANTA, GA., 3RD NEGRO SATRAPY.

HON. J. R. DOOLITTLE.

MY DEAR SIR:

These are not the times to write long letters. What I have here written, I hope you will have patience to read through to the end.

The epochs of which you speak (of) in your speech does not go back far enough.

I would wish you to go back to the time, 1837, when Seward declared the "Irrepressible Conflict."

This declaration implied everything that has overtaken our poor nigger-stricken country from that date to this very hour.

It implied Negro insurrection in which was to ensue the indiscriminate Butchery, rape, robbery and arson of white men, women, and children at the South.

This part of the Irrepressible Conflict finally ended at that time by the hanging of John Brown, and the cowardly flight of Seward to Europe to avoid the consequences of such an attempt.

This attempt is again to be renewed by Congress arming the Negroes, as you perceive to-day.

The 2nd branch of the Irrepressible Conflict implied (if the Negroes failed in the first) destruction to the Union in order to bring on a war between the Free and Slave States, which you have witnessed.

John Brown sacrificed his life to secure the first branch and Abe Lincoln was a victim in securing the 2nd.

You have witnessed the war between the white races, you have yet to witness a war between the white and negro races before the full designs of the Irrepressible Conflict is fully and finally accomplished.

Peace was always and always will be death to Abolition-

ism. Without war Seward could not have taken one step towards destroying Slavery, hence, his first step in the matter was to declare war.

When Seward first undertook this negro business, say 35 or 40 years ago, he then based his whole Idea on destroying the Union on this foundation, to wit;

That the Southern people would not be so pusillanimous or mean-spirited as to quietly submit to the entire destruction of their labor system, as his nigger crusade professed to have in view.

To carry on his negro crusade to final sweep he had to operate alone on the Northern mind.

About the time he began this operation Birney ran for the Presidency and rec'd about 8 thousand votes out of millions cast. This shows the *status* of the radical party at that period, it was only a free soil party then.

To show you how Seward commenced his work on the northern people to secure his nigger designs, I will quote his own words in the shape of an honest confession, to wit: "My friends, I have called the attention of the people away from the Union, when the Union was in no danger, to that of Freedom or Nigger Beast which was then in danger, and now having secured the Negro Beast, by the election of Abe Lincoln, I call the attention of the people back to the Union which is now in danger, &c." This confession is conclusive and damning, and the more you reflect on it the more damning it becomes. To call on the people to disregard the Union of the States, for the sake of accomplishing the Negro Beast, was about the first step he took after he had declared for the Irrepressible Conflict or war.

His second step was to convert this religion of the Northern people into Negro Idolatry by dragging the Negro into the pulpits by declaration of High-er-law-ism. This you might call the 3rd epoch, the declaration of war being the first, and his declaration against the Union the 2nd.

His declaration of Higherlaw converted the whole mass of Northern Parsons into negro worshippers, and these parsons converted their congregations, men, women, and children into worshippers of the Black Idol with intense hatred for the white race of the South. This is the way Seward worked to delude the Northern people into the negro business, which finally culminated in the election of an entirely sectional man. Abe Lincoln believed honestly that he was elected purely on an abolition platform, and so declared by the first public words he uttered after he was elected. Lincoln's election was the 5th epoch in the Negro Crusade.

All through the long Negro Crusade Seward feared Compromise more than the Devil does Holy water. Compromise is a Heaven-given principle vouchsafed to man for self-preservation. Its rejection is the work of the Devil for man's destruction.

Seward was aware that as long as compromise stood in his way, he could never accomplish Niggerism.

Therefore, about the year 1850, he had the impudence to get up in the Halls of Congress and issue a decree to the people in the words to wit: "That the day of compromise is past and gone forever." I will simply ask you to refer your mind to how this decree was obeyed in the winter and spring of 1861? All has been lost, I firmly believe, by obeying Seward's mandate of 1850, when all could have been saved by disobeying him. The epoch or points by which Seward secured Niggerism was, 1st—Irrepressible Conflict; 2nd—Declaration against the Union of the States; 3rd—Declaration of Higher law; 4th—Mandate against Compromise measures; 5th—The election of Abe Lincoln.

Seward himself declared immediately after the election of Lincoln was ascertained, that his election was the death-blow to Slavery, say 3 days after the election in 1860. Ask

Seward if this is not a fact and all other facts which I state in this letter.

Everybody must admit that Seward's control over the Abolition party was as Omnipotent as God Almighty's control over the Universe.

This Negro Crusade of Seward's was a long, bitter, political contest between Clay and Webster on the side of the white man and the white man's Union, against Seward, who was against the white man's Union and for the nigger and a nigger Union. This is the way the thing stood for a period of 35 years.

To look back now it appears that Clay and Webster were swept aside like chaff before a tornado, immediately after Seward issued his decree of Higherlaw. Do you remember what a rebuke Clay administered to Seward on the occasion he issued this decree of Higherlaw, by simply asking Seward to produce his credentials from the High Court of Heaven?

As early as Feb. 7th, 1839, Clay told the people what Seward's party was drawing this country into, about in these words, to wit: "With the Abolition party, the rights of property are nothing, the deficiencies of the powers of the General Government are nothing, the acknowledged and incontestable rights of the States are nothing, a civil war, a dissolution of the Union and the overthrow of a government in which is concentrated the fondest hopes of the civilized world are nothing. A single Idea has taken possession of their minds, and onward they pursue it, overlooking all barriers and regardless of all consequences."

Clay on this occasion portrayed a large-sized nigger monster, but it was far beyond his conception that the American people could bring themselves to the attempt to degrade the white race below the negro level and forcing this degradation by arming the negroes against the white race.

On the 7th of March, 1850, Daniel Webster warned the American people against Seward's party in these words, to wit: "If the infernal fanatics and Abolitionists ever get the power of the Government in their hands, they will override the Constitution, set the Supreme Court at Defiance, make and unmake laws to suit themselves, lay violent hands on those who differ from them in opinions or dare question their infallibility, and finally bankrupt the country and deluge the country in blood."

This, too, is a big black monster painted by Webster, but he did not take in half its proportions.

When Clay gave this poor nigger-trodden, nigger-ridden country this solemn warning against the Abolition party, this party must have been in its infancy, because the year afterward it only polled 8 thousand votes for Birney, and that was only for free soilism.

The contest between Clay and Webster and Seward was only about 15 or 20 years. These patriots died long before Seward accomplished his purpose of Niggerism. Both died with the convictions on their minds that we were fast running into a vortex of destruction.

In the smoothness and gentlemanly and polite manner, Seward has conducted this country and people to the very brink if not into the very pit of destruction. You, and all of us, have been deceived as to the criminality of the man. If Seward had never been born this destruction to our country never would have taken place. It will surprise you now to look back on the career of Seward. He never labored for anything else but as to how could he bring on an Irrepressible Conflict. Even before he undertook this Nigger Business he came very near destroying the peace of this country by a crusade against Masonry. I want to call your attention, particularly, how Seward controlled President and Congress to prevent compromise before the war, and how he labored afterwards to prevent a settlement while the war

was going on. These things are recent. I want you to investigate. History will pronounce on them and damn Seward.

The Negro Crusade was the most merciless oppression that was ever attempted to be forced over a civilized people, and you will perceive that Clay and Webster attributed the whole ruin that has afflicted our country, on the party that has tried to inflict it on us, and none on the party that resisted this oppression.

You are aware that the trial of the Columbus prisoners under a military commission has been going here for some weeks. As far as the evidence of the prosecution and the rebutting testimony has been gone into, it is as plain as a noonday sun in a cloudless sky, that the evidence against the prisoners is a mass of perjury from beginning to end, and that the prisoners are as innocent of the murder of Ashburn as you are. The whole thing was gotten up to make a point against the Southern people. This is part and parcel of Seward's Irrepressible Conflict. Is there to be no repose for the Southern people? No hope, no future for them?

The Yankee Parsons, The Yankee Schoolmarms, The Negro Bureau agents, The Shoulder-strapped Popinjays of the Grand Army, the Yankee Carpet-Baggers & Emigrants are openly devoting their whole time to stirring up the negroes against the whites, as if Slavery still existed. What they did clandestinely before the war they do barefacedly now.

Respectfully,

J. SMITH.

LEWIS JONES OF ROXBURY AND WATERTOWN,
MASSACHUSETTS, 1640-1684, AND SOME OF
HIS DESCENDANTS IN THE SOUTH.

BY A. S. SALLEY, JR.

(Concluded in this issue.)

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DAVID RUMPH JONES [Donald Bruce¹, Samuel Phillips², Amasa³, Daniel⁴, Josiah⁵, Josiah⁶, Lewis¹], b. in Orangeburgh Dist. April 5, 1824; admitted to the United States Military Academy (West Point) as a cadet July 1, 1842, and was assigned to the Fourth Class; stood 40 on mathematics and 47 on French in June, '43, with a general merit of 42 in a class of 83 and was appointed a corporal Aug. 29th following; stood 55 in math., 56 in French, 26 in drawing and 58 in English in June '44, with a general merit of 51 in a class of 78 and was promoted quartermaster sergeant; stood 44 in philosophy, 41 on chemistry, 27 on drawing in June, '45, with a general merit of 37 in a class of 62 and was promoted captain; stood 33 on engineering, 54 on ethics, 48 on artillery, 26 on infantry tactics and 40 on mineralogy and geology in June, '46 and graduated 41 in a class of 60, and on July 1, 1846, was appointed Bvt. 2nd Lieut. of the 2d Infantry, U. S. A.;¹ appointed 2d Lieut. 2d Inf., Nov. 23d, 1846; took part in the siege of Vera Cruz, March 9-29, 1847; the battle of Cerro Gordo, April

¹ While at West Point he was especially distinguished in horsemanship and fencing. Among his classmates were Generals T. J. (Stonewall) Jackson, A. P. Hill, Dabney H. Maury, W. D. Smith and Cadmus M. Wilcox of the Confederate States Army and Generals George B. McClellan, Foster, Reno, Stoneman, Crouch and Gibbon of the United States Army.

17-18, 1847; the skirmish of Ocalaco, Aug. 16, 1847; the battle of Contreras, Aug. 19-20, 1847; the battle of Churubusco, Aug. 20, 1847, and was brevetted First Lieutenant, Aug. 20, 1847, for "gallant and meritorious conduct" at the battles of Contreras and Churubusco; took part in the battle of Molino del Rey, Sept. 8, 1847, and the assault and capture of the city of Mexico, Sept 13-14, 1847; acted as Adjutant of the 2d Inf. from April 15, 1847 to Dec. 29, 1848; was in garrison at Jefferson Barracks, Mo., and Ft. Hamilton, N. Y., in 1848; went on a voyage to California in 1848-49; was on frontier duty at Benica, Calif., in 1849-50, and at Monterey, San Miguel and Benica, Calif., in 1851; was First Lieut. of the 2d Inf. May 7, 1849 to March 3, 1853; was at West Point as Asst. Ins. of Inf. Sept. 15, 1851 to June 17, 1853; brevetted Captain on Staff of Asst. Adj. Gen. March 16, 1853; assigned as Adj. Genl. of the Western Division at Pascagoula, Miss., May 23d to Aug. 6, 1853, and of the Pacific Department Nov. 11, 1853 to July 5, 1854; was acting Judge Advocate of the Pacific Depart. July 5, 1854 to Feb. 13, 1858, and acted as Asst. Adj. Genl. of the Depart. of the West at St. Louis from Feb. 13, 1858 to Sept. 16, 1858, and from March 26, 1859 to Feb. 15, 1861, when he resigned to enter Confederate service. When Brig. Gen. Beauregard was assigned the task of defending Charleston he called for D. R. Jones, to be his adjutant and chief of staff with the rank of major and A. A. G. In his report on the capture of Fort Sumter Gen. Beauregard says: * * * "I very cheerfully agreed to allow the salute as an honorable testimony of the gallantry and fortitude with which Major Anderson and his command had defended their post, and I informed Major Anderson of my decision about half-past seven o'clock, P. M., through Major Jones, my chief of staff." * * * "Soon after the aids I had dispatched with the offer of assistance had set out on their mission, hearing that a white

flag was flying over the fort, I sent Major Jones, chief of my staff, and some other aids, with substantially the same proposition I had made to Major Anderson on the 11th instant, excepting the privilege of saluting his flag." * * * "I very cheerfully agreed to allow the salute," * * * "and I informed Major Anderson of my decision about half-past seven o'clock, P. M., through Major Jones, my chief of staff." * * * "To my regular staff—Major D. R. Jones, C. S. A., Captains Lee and Ferguson, C. S. A., and Lieutenant Legaré, C. S. A., and my volunteer staff, Messrs. Chisolm, Wigfall, Chesnut, Manning, Miles, Gonzales, and Pryor—I am much indebted for their indefatigable and valuable assistance, night and day, during the attack, transmitting my orders in open boats with alacrity and cheerfulness to the different batteries, amid falling balls and bursting shells."²

When Gen. Beauregard was transferred to Virginia to direct operations there in defense of Richmond, he was accompanied by Major Jones and the others of his staff. They arrived in Richmond on May 30th and the next day Gen. Beauregard left for Manassas with two of his staff, leaving the other members of his staff, including Major Jones, in Richmond "to effect such arrangements as were necessary."

Soon after his arrival in Richmond Major Jones was appointed brigadier general, and assigned to command a brigade in line at Manassas Station.

In the action of July 18th, which Gen. Beauregard terms the battle of Bull Run (terming the action of the twenty-first, Manassas), Gen. Jones's brigade was in position in rear of McLean's Ford, and consisted of Col. Micah Jenkins's 5th South Carolina and Burt's 17th and Featherstone's 18th regiments of Mississippi Volunteers, with two brass six-pounder guns of Walton's battery, and one company of

² Beauregard's *Military Operations*, Vol. I, pp. 47, 429, 430, 432.

cavalry. In that engagement Jones's brigade was not engaged, as the brigades of Bonham, Longstreet and Early succeeded in repulsing the enemy before a general action was brought on.

On the 21st the battle of Manassas occurred. Gen. Jones's brigade remained in position behind McLean's Ford and Early's brigade was shifted to its rear.

"One peculiar feature of the theatre of operations," says Gen. Beauregard in his official report of the battle, "was a direct road running in front of the Confederate positions, from the extreme right at Union Mills Ford, and trending off to Centreville. This was seized upon, and entered prominently into the Confederate plan of battle, as drawn up on the night of the 20th. That is to say, Ewell, from the extreme right, at Union Mills Ford, was to advance towards Centreville by that road, and, halting about half-way, await communications from Jones, who was to move from McLean's Ford and place himself on the left of Ewell, awaiting in that position communication from Longstreet, who, by a similar advance from Blackburn's Ford, was to take position on the left of Jones, and be joined on his own left by Bonham, from Mitchell's Ford. Ewell, having the longest march, was to begin the movement, and each brigade was to be followed by its reserves. The several commanders were instructed in the object of the movement, which was to pivot the line on Mitchell's Ford, and by a rapid and vigorous attack on McDowell's left flank and rear, at Centreville, rout him and cut off his retreat on Washington." (*Mil. Ops.* p. 98.) But McDowell changed his course of attack on the morning of the 21st, and proceeded against the Confederate left in hopes of flanking. Gen. Beauregard thought that the surest and most effective method of relieving his left, was by a rapid, vigorous attack of his right wing and centre on the enemy's flank and rear, at Centreville, all due precautions being first taken against the

advance of any reserves from the direction of Washington. This proposed movement he submitted to Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, who fully approved of it, and orders were forthwith issued for its execution. Gen. Ewell was to lead the movement, followed by Jones, Longstreet, and Bonham with their respective reserves. Hunter's and Heintzelman's divisions of McDowell's army attacked the Confederate left during the morning where one of the most heroic struggles of modern warfare took place, and ended with success to the Confederates.

But while the conflict was raging in that quarter Gen. Beauregard, in his report, says:

"We" (Gen. Johnston and himself) "anxiously but confidently, awaited similar sounds of conflict from our front at Centreville, resulting from the prescribed attack in that quarter by our right wing. At half-past 10 A. M., however, this expectation was dissipated by a despatch from Brigadier General Ewell, informing me, to my profound disappointment, that my orders for his advance had miscarried; but that, in consequence of a communication from General D. R. Jones, he had just thrown his brigade across the stream at Union Mills. But, in my judgment, it was too late for the effective execution of the contemplated movement, which must have required quite three hours for the troops to get into position for the attack. Therefore it became immediately necessary to depend on new combinations and other dispositions suited to the now pressing exigency. The movement on the right and centre, already begun by Jones and Longstreet, was at once countermanded, with the sanction of General Johnston, and we rearranged to meet the enemy on the field upon which he had chosen to give us battle." All the reserves were ordered up, and Gens. Ewell, Jones, Longstreet and Bonham were directed to make a demonstration on their several fronts, "to retain and en-

gross the enemy's reserves, and any forces in their flank, and at and around Centreville."

Gen. Beauregard in his report further says:

"General R. D. Jones, early in the day, crossing Bull Run with his brigade, pursuant to orders indicating his part in the projected attack by our right wing and centre on the enemy at Centreville, took up a position on the Union Mills and Centreville road, more than a mile in advance of the Run. Ordered back in consequence of the miscarriage of the orders to General Ewell, the retrograde movement was necessarily made under a sharp fire of artillery. At noon this brigade, in obedience to new instructions, was again thrown across Bull Run to make a demonstration. Unsupported by other troops, the advance was gallantly made until within musket-range of the enemy's force, Col. Davies's brigade, in position near Rocky Run, and under the concentrated fire of their artillery. In this affair the 5th, Jenkins's, South Carolina, and Capt. Fountain's company of the 18th Mississippi regiment are mentioned by General Jones as having shown conspicuous gallantry, coolness and discipline, under a combined fire of infantry and artillery. Not only did the return-fire of the brigade drive to cover the enemy's infantry, but the movement unquestionably spread through the enemy's ranks a sense of insecurity, and danger from an attack by that route on their rear at Centreville, which served to augment the extraordinary panic which we know disbanded the entire Federal army for the time. This is evident from the fact that Col. Davies, the immediate adversary's commander, in his official report, was induced to magnify one small company of our cavalry, which accompanied this brigade, into a force of two thousand men, and Colonel Miles, the commander of the Federal reserves at Centreville, says the movement 'caused painful apprehensions for the left flank' of their army."

Col. Roman in *Military Operations of Gen. Beauregard*, p. 109, speaking of the pursuit of the enemy, says:

"The pursuit of the enemy, the result of which might have more than doubled the importance of our victory, was not further continued that evening. A false report which had reached General Beauregard, on his way to the front, necessitated at once a complete change in the character of his orders. From Manassas, riding at full speed, had come a messenger, sent to General Beauregard by Major Thomas G. Rhett, of General Johnston's staff, with the startling information that the enemy's reserves, composed of fresh troops, and in considerable force, had penetrated our lines at Union Mills Ford, and were marching on Manassas. The report did not originate with Major Rhett, but had been brought to him by the adjutant of Gen. D. R. Jones, in person.⁸

No sooner had this unwelcome news been received than General Beauregard, without loss of a moment, rode back to the Lewis House, saw General Johnston, agreed with him as to what measures should be adopted for the emergency, and, mounting a fresh horse, he proceeded at once to the point reported to be threatened, ordering thither Ewell's and Holmes's brigades, which had just come up to the Lewis House. With these troops he proposed to attack the enemy vigorously before he should effect a lodgement on our side of Bull Run."

But these preparations were unnecessary, for, says the historian:

"As Gen. Beauregard reached the vicinity of Union

⁸It is due to Col. Asbury Coward, of Charleston, S. C., to state that, although he was adjutant of Gen. Jones during the whole time of Gen. Jones' service, he had not yet been commissioned on the day of Manassas, that he was only acting as a volunteer on that day, and that the officer who made the blunder of which Gen. Beauregard wrote was for the time only *acting* adjutant, and that Col. Coward was in no way responsible for the blunder, but was the first to inform Gen. Beauregard of the true condition of affairs.

Mills Ford, towards dark, he ascertained, with mingled feelings of joy and regret, that the troops which had been seen advancing from that direction were none other than those belonging to the command of General Jones, originally posted near McLean's Ford. General Jones had crossed Bull Run at that point, in the morning, as already stated, to aid in the projected attack by our right and centre on the enemy, at Centreville; had been ordered back, in consequence of the movement against our left. In obedience to new instructions, he was again thrown across Bull Run, to make demonstrations against the enemy from a quarter supposed by him to be unguarded. His advance was most gallantly effected, and not only did the brisk firing of his brigade drive the enemy's infantry to cover, but the bold, unexpected movement was greatly instrumental in spreading the panic which finally disbanded the Federal army. His command was on the march to resume its former position, behind Bull Run, when thus mistaken for the enemy. It should be here added, in explanation of this unfortunate error that the uniforms of General Jones's men differed very slightly from those of the Northern troops—a fact of no small significance, which had already embarrassed many a Confederate officer, during the day, particularly on the arrival of General Early's forces on the field."

When it was discovered that the troops seen near Union Mills were not Federals, but Gen. Jones's brigade of Confederates, it was too late to return to the pursuit of the enemy, so that the great battle of Manassas was at an end. The next day Gen. Beauregard issued an order that his command, as it stood organized on the 20th of July, into brigades or separate commands, should, for the present, return to that organization. He then assigned the several brigades or separate commands to headquarters. The 3d brigade, under Gen. Jones, was assigned to a position on the Union

Mills and Centreville road, about half way between Brad-dock road and Union Mills Ford.

On the 25th of July Gen. Beauregard issued orders reorganizing his corps into eight brigades, the third of which was placed under command of Gen. Jones, and was composed of the 5th South Carolina regiment of volunteers, under Col. Micah Jenkins, the 4th South Carolina under Col. J. B. E. Sloan, the 6th South Carolina under Col. Charles Winder, of Virginia (afterwards commander of the "Stonewall" brigade) and the 9th South Carolina under Col. J. D. Blanding.

On August 9th and 10th Gen. Beauregard began to advance in hopes of more easily taking the offensive, or of drawing on a battle. Gen. Jones's brigade was ordered to Germantown from its encampment near Union Mills. Gen. Beauregard's corps lay encamped about Centreville and Germantown for the remainder of the year, and before the next campaign he was, in February, transferred to the Western department.

During the month of October, 1861, while the forces in War Department established the Department of Northern Virginia, and divided it into three districts; the Valley District, the Potomac District and the Aquia District. Gen. Johnston was assigned to the Department of Northern Virginia, Gen. Beauregard to the Potomac District, Major Gen. Holmes to the Aquia District, and Major Gen. Jackson to the Valley District.

The forces under Gen. Beauregard were divided into four divisions, commanded by Major Gens. Van Dorn, G. W. Smith, Longstreet and E. Kirby Smith, respectively. Gen. Longstreet's division was composed of five brigades, the first of which was commanded by Gen. Jones and consisted of the four South Carolina regiments above mentioned.

Before Gen. Johnston began his campaign in 1862 he re-organized his forces and Gen. Jones was given a brigade

composed of the 11th Georgia regiment, Col. G. T. Anderson; the 8th Georgia, Col. Lamar; the 2d Georgia Regulars, Col. D. H. Magill, and the 7th Georgia. The South Carolina regiments of his old brigade were assigned to the brigade of Gen. Richard H. Anderson.

In the spring of 1862 Gen. Jones was nominated by President Davis to be a major-general, but the Senate refused to confirm the nomination until November, 1862, after he had been relieved from duty on account of failing health. This action was due to the hostility of the Virginia Senators; he having incurred their displeasure by a personal affair with one of their friends. In the meantime he was in charge of a division composed of his own brigade and that of Toombs, and just before the advance to Second Manassas Drayton's brigade was added. After the Second Manassas his division was composed of the brigades of Jenkins, Toombs, Drayton, G. T. Anderson, Kemper and Pickett—the latter commanded by Col. Garnett.

A member of Gen. Jones's staff, speaking of Second Manassas, says: "The Federals attacked our centre, where Jackson's right and Longstreet's left came together, were repulsed by Jackson and exposing their left flank were attacked by Longstreet, who ordered Hood's division to oblique to the right and forward, Kemper following next with Jenkins's brigade on the right of Pickett, and D. R. Jones's division completed the Confederate line of battle. Then came the charge that drove everything before it."

Here is what an eyewitness (Col. John Esten Cooke) says of the part taken by Jones's division: "Toombs and Anderson (G. T.) with the Georgians, together with Kemper and Jenkins, swooped around on the right, flanking the Federals and driving them toward their centre and rear." The same authority, speaking of the magnificent victory and the terrific dangers attending the winning of it, says the Southern

generals (mentioning Gen. Jones) "shared the dangers equally with their men."

Of Sharpsburg Cooke says (*Life of Jackson*): "On the afternoon of the 16th Gen. Lee had about 25,000 men in line of battle, his back to Sharpsburg, his left hand touching the Potomac, his right extending into the angle formed by the river and Antietam Creek. Gen. McClellan had an army of 87,164, and his main strength was so massed as to strike the Southern left, under Stonewall Jackson with 4,000 men. On the morning of the 17th Hooker's corps of 18,000 men, and Mansfield's of 12,000 hastening forward to support him, attacked Jackson and their combined forces were beaten back by Jackson, Mansfield killed, Hooker wounded and the entire Federal right was only saved from a total route by the arrival of the fresh corps of Sumner. Jackson was reinforced by Hood's and McLaws's divisions and Walker's brigade and repulsed Sumner's assault. This was the grand conflict of the day, and on Lee's left centred the main interest, but once or twice affairs were critical on the right and centre. On the right was a moment of extreme peril. Nearly east of Sharpsburg was a bridge over the Antietam. On the heights above this bridge rested the right of Lee; opposite, across the stream, were 15,000 Federals under Burnside, with Fitz John Porter at his back. McClellan, seeing the stubborn stand on the left, thinking that Lee had his main force massed there, leaving the right wing weak, ordered Burnside, at 8 o'clock, to attack Lee's right as a diversion, as the combat on his own right was going against him.

Burnside did not act promptly, and in the meantime Gen. Lee had drawn Walker and McLaws from the right to assist Jackson, leaving only two thousand, five hundred men under Gen. D. R. Jones opposite Burnside. In the afternoon Burnside cautiously advanced and at 3 o'clock drove Gen. Jones's small force from the crest, but too late. Just

as the crest was carried A. P. Hill arrived from Harper's Ferry with two thousand men, united with Jones and attacked Burnside and drove his fifteen thousand troops back to the bridge and saved the Confederate right, as Jackson had saved the left."

Hill and Jones's defeat of Burnside was glorious. A member of Gen. Jones's staff says:

"Major Garnett, with his admirably planted artillery, did much to prevent an irrevocable loss until A. P. Hill arrived. The 2d and 20th Georgians did splendid work, defeating successively seven regiments of the enemy who advanced across the bridge."

Altogether Gen. Jones took part in the battles of Manassas, Seven Pines, Seven Days' fight, Garnett's Farm, Yorktown, Savage Station, Fraser's Farm, Malvern Hill, Second Manassas, Boonsboro, Ox Hill and Sharpsburg.

"He left the field an ill man," says one of his staff, "just after Sharpsburg, and retired to Richmond, where he died January 15, 1863, and was buried in Hollywood."

A member of his staff (Col. Williams, of Richmond) writes: "He was a very handsome man, tall and stately, and of commanding presence. He wore a long, heavy beard that covered nearly the whole of his face, but you could see his keen eye. He was genial, jovial and fond of a good joke."

He *m.* Rebecca Taylor, niece of President Zachery Taylor and first cousin of the first wife of President Jefferson Davis.

Issue:

- 69 I. May Jones; unmarried.
- 70 II. Lena Jones, *m.* Count Zichlinskie, of Poland, who *d.*; *m.* again ——— Yorke, now of South Dakota. (Issue.)

53

JACOB CHRISTIAN JONES [Donald Bruce⁷, Samuel Phillips⁶, Amasa⁵, Daniel⁴, Josiah³, Josiah², Lewis¹], *b.* in Orangeburgh Dist. June 25, 1826; *m.*, July 25, 1860, Anna Eliza Townsen; *d.* June 7, 1869.

Issue:

- 71 I. May Alice Jones, *b.* Sept. 5, 1861; *m.*, Jany. 29, 1889,
John Franklin McKibben. (Issue.)
- 72 II. Lida Beall Jones, *b.* Feb. 10, 1866; *m.*, Nov. 10, 1886,
John Thomas Strange. (Issue.)
- 73 III. Caroline Emma Jones, *b.* Sept. 27, 1868.

54

GEORGE SALLEY JONES [Donald Bruce^r, Samuel Phillips^o, Amasa^a, Daniel^t, Josiah^s, Josiah^s, Lewis^l], *b.* in Orangeburgh Dist. Dec. 22, 1828; *m.*, Nov. 3, 1868, Martha Ruth Carr, dau. of Judge B. F. Carr, of Macon, Ga.; *d.* at his home in Macon, Ga., March 30, 1888.

Issue:

- 74 I. George Salley Jones, *b.* Sept. 12, 1871.
- 75 II. Mary Ruth Jones, *b.* Aug. 7, 1873; *m.*, Oct. 18, 1893,
Walter J. Grace, of Macon, Ga., atty.-at-law. (Issue.)
- 76 III. Baxter Jones, *b.* Aug. 4, 1875.
- 77 IV. Bruce Carr Jones, *b.* Aug. 5, 1877.
- 78 V. Sidney Johnson Jones, *b.* Aug. 9, 1879.
- 79 VI. Robert Henderson Jones, *b.* June 7, 1881.
- 80 VII. Ethel Louise Jones, *b.* Jany. 25, 1883.
- 81 VIII. Richard Edwin Jones, *b.* Nov. 26, 1884; *d.* June 3, 1885.
- 82 IX. Katharine Lois Jones, *b.* Sept. 23, 1886; *d.* May 26, 1887.

56

DONALD BRUCE JONES [Donald Bruce^r, Samuel Phillips^o, Amasa^a, Daniel^t, Josiah^s, Josiah^s, Lewis^l], *b.* in Orangeburgh Dist. Dec. 6, 1833; *m.*, June 6, 1860, Elizabeth Jane Shields; resided in Macon, Ga.; sometime Tax Collector at Macon; *d.* Oct. 15, 1892.

Issue:

- 83 I. Donald Bruce Jones, *b.* Sept. 2, 1862.
- 84 II. Mary Shields Jones, *b.* Nov. 29, 1865; *m.*, Feb. 2, 1886,
James L. Anderson, atty.-at-law, son of Hon. Clifford Anderson, sometime Attorney-General of Georgia, of Macon. (Issue.)
- 85 III. Albert Jones, *b.* Jany. 12, 1868; succeeded his father as Tax Collector in 1892.
- 86 IV. Elizabeth Davis Jones, *b.* March 12, 1870; *m.*, Aug. 25, 1892, Richard Fuller Sams. (Issue.)
- 87 V. Nellie Brabson Jones, *b.* April 16, 1872.
- 88 VI. Frederick Reese Jones, *b.* Dec. 11, 1874.
- 89 VII. David Shields Jones, *b.* May 24, 1877.
- 90 VIII. Emily Ruth Jones, *b.* June 13, 1880.
- 91 IX. George William Jones, *b.* Jany. 9, 1883; *d.* Oct. 3, 1890.

58

JOHN WILLIAM JONES [Donald Bruce⁷, Samuel Phillips⁶, Amasa⁵, Daniel⁴, Josiah³, Josiah², Lewis¹], *b.* in Houston Co., Ga., June 9, 1838; *m.* Laura Cowart; physician and druggist, Knoxville, Ga.

Issue:

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|----|--|-----------------|
| 92 | I. Elizabeth Jones, <i>b.</i> June 16, 1876. | |
| 93 | II. Louise Jones, <i>b.</i> March 1 1879. | } <i>Twins.</i> |
| 94 | III. Lucile Jones. | |
| 95 | IV. Donald Paul Jones, <i>b.</i> Sept. 23, 1882. | |
| 96 | V. Laura Alice Jones, <i>b.</i> Sept. 28, 1885. | |

65

SAMUEL PRESTON JONES [Samuel Phillips⁶, Donald Bruce⁷, Samuel Phillips⁶, Amasa⁵, Daniel⁴, Josiah³, Josiah², Lewis¹], *b.* Sept. 24, 1857; *m.*, March 31, 1884, Bertha L. Kitching; resides at Decatur, Ga.

Issue:

- | | |
|----|---|
| 97 | I. William Greene Jones, <i>b.</i> Aug. 11, 1888. |
| 98 | II. Samuel Preston Jones, <i>b.</i> Dec. 8, 1890. |
| 99 | III. Lee Bruce Jones, <i>b.</i> Nov. 5, 1892. |

74

GEORGE SALLEY JONES [George Salley⁶, Donald Bruce⁷, Samuel Phillips⁶, Amasa⁵, Daniel⁴, Josiah³, Josiah², Lewis¹], *b.* Sept. 12, 1871; *m.*, Nov. 11, 1890, Berta Hardeman, dau. of Hon. Isaac Hardeman, of Macon.

Issue:

- | | |
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| 100 | I. George Salley Jones, <i>b.</i> Sept. 3, 1891. |
| 101 | II. Isaac Hardeman Jones, <i>b.</i> May 3, 1893. |
| 102 | III. Charles Baxter Jones, <i>b.</i> Oct. 24, 1895. |
| 103 | IV. Bascom Anthony Jones, <i>b.</i> Dec. 8, 1897. |
| 104 | V. Giles Paul Jones, <i>b.</i> Jany. 23, 1899. |

83

DONALD BRUCE JONES [Donald Bruce⁶, Donald Bruce⁷, Samuel Phillips⁶, Amasa⁵, Daniel⁴, Josiah³, Josiah², Lewis¹], *b.* Sept. 2, 1862; *m.*, April 28, 1886, Elizabeth Shorter.

Issue:

- | | |
|-----|---|
| 105 | I. Donald Bruce Jones, <i>b.</i> March 14, 1887. |
| 106 | II. Alexander Shepherd Jones, <i>b.</i> July 8, 1889. |

(Concluded.)

REVIEWS.

AMERICAN HISTORY AND ITS GEOGRAPHIC CONDITIONS. By Ellen Churchill Semple. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1903. pp. 466, 8vo., illus., cloth, \$3.00.

GEOGRAPHIC INFLUENCES IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By Albert Perry Brigham. New York: The Chautauqua Press, 1903, 12 mo. pp. x., 285, illus., cloth.

In beautiful dress as to paper, type, binding, and illustrations, we have here an attempt, by Miss Semple, to show the influence of situation, rivers, mountains and passes, prairies and valleys, lakes and coast lines, forests, mineral deposits, temperature and rainfall, and other geographical agencies upon man's development socially. Incidental to this view are discussions as to the war of 1812, the Civil War, the Louisiana Purchase, immigration, location of cities and industries, railroads, the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean. It is all a most ambitious effort, perhaps due to feminine youthfulness, but, to use a homely phrase, it impresses one that the writer bit off more than she could "chaw." A vast task like this, to be done thoroughly, demands the preliminary clearing of the ground by a host of monographers, not one of whom has yet come into view in this particular field of the exact historical relation between physical environment and human organisms. For the lack of this indispensable help, Miss Semple gives us repetitions, padding, hasty generalizations, awkward expressions, doubtful statements, and other symptoms in places, of possibly a rehash from university lectures and general works. Pages 37 and 38 are almost duplicates. The mountains are said to be "impassible" (p. 39) and yet people were crossing them all the time. Chapter 14 is practically a condensed history of the Civil

War. The explanation of New England opposition to expansion (p. 43) is at least open to question, as the New Englanders, individually, have emigrated to our farthest bounds westward. The thinness of soil at home did not keep them but rather sent them away.

Like Miss Semple, Prof. Brigham seems to have tackled a job a little too big for him tho he more clearly recognizes his limitations than she, and has a simpler style. Like her he treats of the great physical features, and also pads considerably on the Civil War. Naturally as a geologist he dwells more upon the changes and conditions in the earth's crust. Like her he has produced a most readable essay for general use which does not ask for exact knowledge, and does not want it. Like Miss Semple, tho not to the same degree, he is hazy in his conceptions of the line between nature and man in the upbuilding of civilization.

Both, really, are history, with an occasional drop downward till one toe can touch the geographical bottom, and then in an instant rebound to the historical surface again. But each has gathered a mass of important facts never before grouped in this way and has fortified them with exceedingly useful charts and excellent illustrations. It is most likely that each is a path breaker into a virgin region that will have to be laboriously explored in small sections at a time, and then afterwards this broad sweep can be made happily and accurately. For some purposes, these ventures are very good, but there still remains to solve in a thoughtful, judicial scholarly way the problem of accurately and profoundly showing the relation between geography and history on such large scale as the whole of this country.

A NEW DISCOVERY OF A VAST COUNTRY IN AMERICA.
By Father Louis Hennepin. Reprinted from the second London issue of 1698, with facsimiles of original title-pages, maps, and illustrations, and the addition of Introduction,

Notes, and Index. By Reuben Gold Thwaites, Editor of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents." 2 Vols. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903, pp. IX-LXIV+1-353 and 357-710, 8vo., cloth.

Excellentlly edited, with admirable historical introduction, with careful bibliographical data from V. H. Paltsits, without pedantry in the notes, is this reprint of Hennepin's rambling but valuable exaggerations of his wanderings in the wilds of this country during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Equally to be commended are the taste and labors of the publishers for the handsome typographical costume, with its clear print, good paper and binding. With the true spirit of the historian rather than the scruples of the antiquarian, Mr. Thwaites has very sensibly corrected "palpable blemishes" of the original, though following in the main the peculiarities of that text, even giving its page numbers. There is an index of thirty-four pages, double columns, mostly on the more prominent names with some subjects, full enough for general historical purposes but hardly detailed enough for close use. Comparison with the original in several sample places shows practically a perfect reprint of its kind. All in all the highest praise can be bestowed on the entire production.

LIFE OF WILLIAM KIMBROUGH PENDLETON, LL. D., President of Bethany College. By Frederick D. Power. St. Louis: Christian Publishing Company. O., pp. 494, port. and ills., cloth.

This is a biography written with the loving enthusiasm and devoted admiration of the disciple, but without the calm judgment and measured reasonableness of the trained critic and scholar. It is full of superlatives, is uncritical and laudatory to a degree, but it presents withal a sketch of a man whom any American State might feel honored to call her son.

Pendleton was an early follower of Alexander Campbell, he married in succession two of his daughters and was one of his chief lieutenants in the organization of the Christian Church (Disciples), in editing its central organ, the *Millennial Harbinger*, and in the founding and building up of Bethany College, near Wheeling, W. Va. In fact it was as an educator, connected with this institution as professor, vice president and president, that Pendleton's life was spent and the history of his life is the history of Bethany College, growing from insignificance to prominence and power, but only through the devotion of its small faculty, who like many another body of men similarly situated gave themselves to the work in hand and in spite of obstacles made from adverse fortune a reasonable measure of success. The story of the life of such a man as Pendleton is well worth the telling for the sake of its influence on the next generation.

THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS. By Zachary F. Smith. Louisville, Ky.: John P. Morton & Company, 1904, illus., 4to., pp. XV+209, paper, No. 19 of the Publications of the Filson Club, Louisville, Ky.

Of course this is the most comprehensive account of the great battle of 1815 in existence. It is not however a scientific treatment of the subject which still remains to be done in this full manner. Mr. Smith's aim is to present to the general reader an interesting description of this conflict without troubling him with foot notes or exact references though he gives a list of authorities that he consulted, mostly American with a few British. He mixes primary and secondary writers indiscriminately, laying no stress on original sources specially.

Addressing the popular ear, he gives us the story of the preliminary engagements, the steps taken by Jackson in his interference with the civil powers, a lively view of the main

struggle, with extracts from English pens to show the other side, with biographical sketches of Jackson, Isaac Shelby, John Adair, Gabriel Slaughter, and with full exposition of the squabble that arose over Jackson's charge that the Kentuckians ingloriously fled, all done in entertaining style and tempered judgment. There is an appendix of twenty-four pages of the names of Kentuckians in the battle. The index covers seven pages but by curious oversight there is no table of contents.

SKETCHES AND REMINISCENCES. By Joshua Hilary Hudson, LL. D. Columbia, S. C.: The State Co., 1903, pp. 190, 8vo., cloth.

Born in Chester, S. C., January 29, 1832, the writer has a considerable stretch of years to cover in this book. He had to struggle for an education, he served in the Civil War beginning as private and ending as Colonel, he was a successful lawyer in his native county, he was judge of a state circuit for fourteen years, and has since returned to his legal profession. With the most laudable view of preserving information for his family and for posterity, he relates his experiences, also brief genealogy, in a style, all the more entertaining because simple and straightforward. Two chapters are specially valuable for the knowledge of two places, Chester and Bennettsville, as they are sources in themselves. A number of pages are given up to formal addresses that Judge Hudson delivered. The appendix of more than thirty pages is a reprint of an old pamphlet of the ceremonies at the semi-centennial celebration of South Carolina College in 1852. Judge Hudson was badly wounded just before Lee's surrender, and one of the most interesting passages of the entire volume is his tribute to the kindness and simplicity of manner of Gen. Grant (p. 7). It is just such original material as we have here, in part, that is so sadly needed in the South and it is to be sincerely hoped that

the fine example of Judge Hudson will be followed by numerous others.

JAMES OGLETHORPE, *THE FOUNDER OF GEORGIA*. By Harriet C. Cooper. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1904. pp. xi+217; eight illustrations; list of authorities and index; price, \$1.00 net.

This short biography is one of the "Historic Lives Series" of Appletons, and was written, the author says, for the purpose of acquainting the children of Georgia with the inspiring character and achievements of the founder of their State. In twenty-one brief chapters we are told of the early life of Oglethorpe; his work in Parliament for prison reform and its result, the plan for the colonization in Georgia of the unfortunate and the oppressed of England; the founding of the colony and its development under the wise and careful rule of Oglethorpe; the opposition of the founders and of the colonists to negro slavery; the just and humane treatment of the Indians by the governor and their devotion to him; the exploration of the back country by the governor; the work under Oglethorpe's superintendence of those indiscreet divines, Charles Wesley and George Whitefield; the weak support given by the English government and by South Carolina to the Georgia colony in its constant struggles with the Spaniards; and finally the long and fine old age of Oglethorpe in England. As long as he was connected with the colony the history of its founder was the history of Georgia; and the story of his life work is an inspiring one for the youth of any State. The book is interesting and easy to read, and there is no attempt at fine writing; much of the story is told by well-chosen extracts from contemporary letters and documents; the bibliography appended is not exhaustive nor in scientific form, but evidently the best authorities have been consulted; the sources of the illustrations, which are good, are not indicated; the

paper and print are excellent, and the price reasonable,—altogether a good and useful book, and the only popular life of Oglethorpe available.

WALTER L. FLEMING,
West Virginia University.

THE NEGRO FARMER. By Carl Kelsey. A Thesis submitted to the University of Pennsylvania in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Ph. D. Printed and on sale by Jennings & Pye, Chicago, 1903. pp. 101. Price Fifty Cents.

Under the above title, and within that small compass Mr. Carl Kelsey has presented a most excellent first hand study of the rural negro. It would not be extravagant praise to pronounce it the best piece of work yet done in its field.

The country has been surfeited with discussions of the condition of Southern negroes by men whose words betrayed their ignorance to all but those as ignorant as themselves, and it is a source of genuine satisfaction to turn to a study which shows all the evidences of thorough personal investigation, honestly conducted and fairly presented. While there is nothing pretentious about it, still it may be safely declared to be, in point of thorough insight into actual conditions, the best thing of its kind since the first appearance of Olmsted's letters to the New York Times.

Mr. Kelsey has done what every man must do, who would study with intelligence the negro's conditions, needs and prospects. He has frankly recognized that the negro is a negro, and not a black-skinned white man; that as such he possesses certain racial traits and tendencies, as much deserving of study, if he is to be wisely helped, as are the characteristics of any other race that we might wish to know. Mr. Kelsey does another sensible thing; he recognizes the fact that it is ridiculous and unscientific to shut our eyes to the negro in Africa, untouched by American slavery, and

charge to that institution whatever is bad or unpromising in the negro of the South. With Booker Washington, he realizes that whatever may be said of slavery, it at least did much towards preparing the foundation for whatever industrial future the negro may have before him.

The problem of learning the truth of the inner life of the Southern negro is a most difficult one to the "outsider," and the method adopted here is the only one that can possibly be accompanied by any measure of success. Mr. Kelsey has gone into the country districts of North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, and has seen these people where they live. His observations have not been from the car window, but have been at close range. He has seen the negro farmer in his home, has looked into his church and school, noted what he ate, studied his family life, and examined the ledgers wherein have been kept the accounts which denote the status of his material affairs. This method speaks much for Mr. Kelsey's good sense, sound judgment and painstaking discrimination; it also argues something for the candor and fairness of the Southern white men, farmers, merchants and planters, who must not only have freely talked with him, but have given him access to their private books as well.

Mr. Kelsey agrees with the late Dr. Curry as to the capacity of the negro for improvement and usefulness, and for the future declares himself hopeful.

There are 23 pages of valuable and well prepared maps, showing the distribution of the negro population of the Southern States by counties and geological districts.

ALFRED HOLT STONE.

IN THE RED HILLS. A story of the Carolina Country. By Elliott Crayton McCants. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1904, illus., pp. 340, 8vo., cloth.

A splendid story, because sane and truthful, of life during

reconstruction days in the middle South. We have the tragedy of the social upheaval when the old ruling class is largely superseded by the middle class recruited with exceptional leaders from the lowest social stratum. We have also burning bits of the race problem. Beginning in the Civil War with the cruelties of guerrillas, the main threads twine about Billy Mayson, John Archer, Annie Chambliss, Abram, and the schoolmaster who becomes the avenging angel and unlocks the plot near the end. Mayson stands for the old aristocracy, Archer for the despised poor whites, both stand out sharp and clear, strong and energetic. Not less well done are one or two female characters. To a native of the locality, the entire volume is a genuine living picture in its setting, its people, its very words, scenes, and incidents. The author knows his field beyond all doubt, he is simple, straightforward, and earnest. In only one place is a false color noticed, he is a little melodramatic in the killing of Archer. An unusual editorial feature is the list of the principal characters printed at the beginning, somewhat like the cast for a theatrical program.

THE GERMAN JUDICIARY. By James Wilford Garner, Ph. D. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1903, 8vo., pp. 490-530, paper. Reprinted from *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XVII, No. 3, and Vol. XVIII, No. 3.

THE FIRST STRUGGLE OVER SECESSION IN MISSISSIPPI. By James W. Garner. Mississippi: Reprinted from *Publications of Mississippi Historical Society*, 8vo., pp. 89-104, paper.

In these two papers Mr. Garner gives us a first class example of what the present method of historical teaching in our universities can accomplish within a limited time in the hands of a man of unwearied industry. Both are fortified with references and are brave in their display of foot notes but neither one quite gives the impression of a mastery of

that particular field. In the first, Mr. Garner treats of the organization, tenure of office, procedure and power of the German judiciary; the second is based almost entirely on two or three stock sources. A knowledge of the relations and setting of each subject, tho not for publication, would make each study many times more valuable.

MARRIAGES NOTICES IN THE SOUTH-CAROLINA GAZETTE; AND COUNTRY JOURNAL (1765-1775) AND IN THE CHARLESTOWN GAZETTE (1778-1780). Compiled and edited by A. S. Salley, Jr. Octavo, pp. 44, paper. Only one hundred numbered copies printed. Price \$1.00.

This is the second of a series of similar compilations by the compiler of this, the first being *Marriage Notices in The South-Carolina Gazette* (Albany, 1902). The introduction contains historical sketches of these two gazettes, a list of the numbers of the former that are missing from the files of the Charleston Library Society and a list of the few numbers of the latter that are to be found in the same collection. The compilation is edited with explanatory footnotes, and a full index.

EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY FROM IMPARTIAL SOURCES. By B. B. Simons. Charleston, S. C.: The Daggett Printing Co., 1903, 8vo., pp. 96, paper.

A very unusual title is this at the present time, but Mr. Simons has given a vast amount of research to his subject, quoting with references from classical sources and from a number of later authors. He thus puts up, in compact shape, a very learned argument along this line of historical reasoning, all with the aim of getting at the truth impartially.

PUBLIC RELIEF AND PRIVATE CHARITY IN ENGLAND. By Chas. A. Ellwood, Ph. D., professor of Sociology. Uni-

versity of Missouri: December, 1903, large 8vo., pp. 96, cloth, 75 cents. *THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI STUDIES*, edited by Frank Thilly, Professor of Philosophy.

This is a clear cut compendium of the history, the law, and the methods of aiding the unfortunate in England, all to be taken practically on the word of the author as there are but few notes. For his purpose this is a commendation as the whole paper is substantially encyclopedic in spirit since it is a part of a general work covering all modern countries on this subject. We have here a sketch of the successive steps for helping the dependent from the middle ages on, and then a full treatment of the present system of public and private relief in England. There is a bibliography of a little more than one page. The editor of these "Studies," Professor Frank Thilly, has been called to Princeton University, but it is to be hoped that his scholarly labors in Missouri will be continued in a manner equally able.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE FOR EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH, the sixth session, held in Richmond, Va., April 22-24, 1903. Committee on Publication, 54 William St., New York City. 8vo., pp. 269, paper.

We have here a number of addresses, mostly by educators in the South, with some from politicians and newspaper men from that and other sections. The aim of the conference is to arouse interest among the masses in the subject of training the young, hence these pages are altogether popular in tone and of course do not add anything to the pedagogical side of education though many of the utterances here are very eloquent, and consequently very valuable in stimulating the cause. There are some very outspoken and significant deliverances on the race question as it comes up in the question of schools. The appendix contains the ac-

count of the services in memory of Dr. J. L. M. Curry, the great central figure of the general cause of education in the South the last fifteen years of his life. There are two very sympathetic estimates of his character and his work by F. W. Boatwright and E. A. Alderman.

A most comprehensive Treatment of Reconstruction does Professor W. L. Fleming, West Virginia University, offer his classes, as represented in the syllabus that he has prepared. Certainly the next generation need have no murkiness of knowledge on that carnival of fanaticism when men seemed to think they could defy even the laws of gravitation if they only worked themselves up to a wild pitch of folly. Professor Fleming does not seem to have in his list of authorities the history of Chamberlain's administration in South Carolina, nor the valuable articles of Mr. A. H. Stone.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL MAGAZINE, January, 1904, Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 68, yearly \$3.00, singly \$1.00. Charleston, S. C.

Contents: 1. Letters of Hon. Henry Laurens to his son John, 1773-1776 (continued.) 12 pp., five letters, from America; considerable public matters.

2. Records of the regiments of the S. C. Line, Continental Establishment. (Continued.) 5 pp., rolls and inventories and receipts, from material in the society.

3. Documents concerning Rev. Samuel Thomas, 1702-1707. 35 pp., records copied from the society and public record office of Great Britain, chiefly his unfavorable report on the colony's religion, and his defence against the charges of Edward Marston.

4. Fraser family memoranda, prepared by the late Charles Fraser, Esq., in September, 1840. Annotated by A. S. Salley, Jr. 3 pp., goes back to about 1700, based in part on a family bible.

5. Historical notes. 3 pp., some revolutionary records and the operations of Williamson's brigade in March, 1779, all taken from the S. C. Gazette.

6. Necrology. 7 pp., careful sketch of Edward McCrady, with the memorial resolutions of the society, born April 8, 1833, died Nov. 1, 1903; also of Henry Alexander DeSaussure, born Aug. 12, 1851, died Nov. 29, 1903.

THE QUARTERLY OF THE TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, January, 1904, Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 177-245, yearly \$2.00, singly 50 cents. Austin, Texas.

Contents: 1. Adjustment of the Texas Boundary in 1850, by W. J. Spillman. 19 pp., based chiefly on Congres-

sional discussions over the proper line between Texas and Mexico. (Scientific.)

2. Some materials for Southwestern History in the *Archivo General De Mexico*, II, by Herbert Eugene Bolton. 16 pp., general description, and exact titles of documents by volume.

3. The reminiscences of Mrs. Dilue Harris. III. 8 pp., interesting personal reminiscences, from memory, going back sixty years to about 1840.

4. Sketch of the Texas Navy, by Geo. F. Fuller. 12 pp., vivid experiences of an officer during 1842-1843; routine incidents, fights with Mexicans.

5. Book reviews and notices. 7 pp.; notes and fragments. 4 pp.

THE METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1904, Vol. LIII, No. 1, pp. 208, \$2.00 yearly, 50 cents singly. Nashville, Tenn.

Contents: 1. Frederick Schiller: the poet of freedom, by A. B. Cooke, Ph. D., 22 pages. His place in world literature, stands for human liberty in all respects. (Comprehensive, with many extracts.)

2. Present-day Philanthropy, by Mrs. Jno. D. Hammond. 11 pp., serious essay based on three late books.

3. Why Should Men Read Poetry? By B. M. Drake, Ph. D. 11 pp., poetry is the key to one side of our life which should be developed if we are to be rounded out. (Thoughtful but very formal.)

4. Why Small Southern Farmers Leave the Farms for the Cotton Mills, by D. D. Wallace, Ph. D. 7 pp., substantially because it is a financial betterment for the most of them. (A sensible study.)

5. Ethical Value of Hypnotic Suggestion, by David Spence Hill, M. A., second paper. 16 pp., illustrations

from religion, medicine, education, amusements, and literature. (Awfully hazy in conception.)

6. *From Bondage to Freedom*, by Rev. Prof. F. M. Grace, D. D., Birmingham, Ala. 11 pp., good aspects of slavery, thinks best welfare of negro is subordination to the whites. (Strong, based on experience.)

7. *Lawlessness in the South*; an analysis of conditions, by Henry N. Snyder, M. A., President of Wofford College. 16 pp., general views, urges enlightenment and charity, with negro to be out of politics.

8. *Jesus' Early Training and the World He Saw*, by J. C. Calhoun Newton, D. D. 16 pp., sketch of geography and conditions and knowledge then, believes Jesus knew Greek.

9. *Aspect of Ruskin*, by Robert T. Kerlin, M. A. 11 pp., his emphasis on the notions of goodness, beauty, truth.

10. *Jacob Unfolding his Sons' future*, by Walker Lewis, D. D. 9 pp., argues that Jacob was a divine prophet.

11. *Brazilian Problems and Prospects*, by the Rev. H. L. Tucker, Agent American Bible Society, Rio de Janeiro. 7 pp., geography, European immigration, catholicism, protestantism. (Very general.)

12. *What Shall the Church do with her Unendowed Colleges?* By Willis D. Weatherford. 6 pp., convert into preparatory schools; Southern Methodists have one university, 16 colleges, 97 academies, with total endowment of \$3,000,000, one-half at Vanderbilt, one-sixth at Trinity; these schools losing grip. (Clear cut statements.)

13. Editorial Departments generally, good short sketch of Mommsen, short notice of Spencer; long review of Morley's Gladstone, with other reviews and with the usual editorial notes.

THE GENEALOGICAL QUARTERLY MAGAZINE, January, 1904, Vol. IV, No. 4, pp. 241-304, yearly \$3.00, singly 75 cents. Boston, Mass.

Contents: 1. Genealogical Gleanings in England by Henry F. Waters. Edited, arranged, and completed by Lothrop Withington. (Continued.) 24 pp., alphabetically from Allen, 1630 to Amry, 1593.

2. Early records of the First Church in Cambridge, Mass. Copied by Stephen P. Sharples. (Continued.) 24 pp., baptisms, marriages, admissions, down as far as 1738.

3. Vital Records from the New Hampshire Gazette, 1765-1800. Collected and arranged by Otis G. Hammond. (Continued.) 8 pp., down to 1771, chiefly deaths.

4. Marriages and Deaths in Georgia Colony, 1763-1800. Compiled from newspaper files. By William Alfred Bishop. (Continued.) 8 pp., from *Georgia Gazette*, 1788-1794.

CONFEDERATE VETERAN, March, 1904, Vol. XII, No. 3, pp. 101-138, yearly \$1.00, singly 10 cts., Nashville, Tenn.

One of the most significant things in this number is the tribute to a negro, Wilson Carter, who was attendant on his owner, William H. H. Mitchell, during the Civil War until he was killed in the battle of Chicamauga when the negro wrapped the body in a blanket and buried it himself. He again followed a younger member of the Mitchell family till the close of the struggle. He has continued to live with this family and is highly respected by all the whites in his locality in Morgan County, Ga. The Confederate Ladies' Memorial Association contributed this sketch of him to the magazine.

THE LOST CAUSE, February, 1904, Vol. X, No. 7, pp. 98-112, yearly \$1.00, singly 10 cts., Louisville, Ky.

This number contains some data on the Confederate flag, also a list of general officers of the Confederate Army reprinted from a congressional document. The subscription has been reduced from \$1.00 to 50 cts.

Of profound insight into the race problem among us are Mr. Thomas Nelson Page's three papers in McClure's Magazine during the spring months of 1904. None the less valuable are they through their eminent saneness of tone. Mr. Page's beauty of style will win a hearing, if not carry conviction, where the mass of other deliverances would never be noticed.

NOTES AND NEWS.

SOUTHERN EDUCATION CONFERENCE.—The seventh session of this body met in Birmingham, Ala., April 26-28, for the discussion in popular way, not professional, of the educational conditions in the South. College presidents, school superintendents both state and city, editors, authors, capitalists, and men interested in public welfare generally, delivered addresses. It seems to be thought that the South is greatly in need of oratory on the school question. As in Richmond last year it is likely that many of those in attendance received the hospitality of the citizens of the locality. A half fare rate on the railroads was not generally obtained.

NO LOGAN MSS. HISTORY OF S. C.—In a very interesting interview in the *News and Courier* of March, 27, 1904, describing his trip to Wisconsin, Dr. B. A. Elzas, of Charleston, S. C., smashes a pretty widely accepted myth about the manuscript of a second volume of Logan's History of the upper country of S. C. Dr. Elzas says there is no such thing, although it has been widely accepted that Draper had found such a treasure and had preserved it in the Wisconsin State Historical Society ready for publication whenever some generous soul would bear the expense. But Dr. Elzas says there is nothing there except "a number of scrappy notes copied by Draper from what original I do not know, some a few lines in length and some longer, but without any connection whatsoever. The whole of these notes comprises some 25,000 words and may have been intended by their compiler as the basis of a future volume. That is all."

ST. MEMIN PORTRAITS.—Dr. William J. Campbell is writing an elaborate work on St. Memin portraits. It will be in eight volumes, with more than eight hundred engraved portraits, each on a separate page. The basis of the book will be the famous "Collection" of 761 proofs made by the artist himself, which has recently come into Dr. Campbell's possession. The Corcoran Gallery of Art and the Library of Congress, both of which have extensive collections, are co-operating with him, giving him the free use of any portraits that they possess which are not in his own collection. He wishes to learn about any portrait, original crayons, coppers or engravings that St. Memin made. His address is 1218 Walnut Street, Philadelphia. Due credit will be given in the work for all information received.

NECROLOGY.

One of the most faithful members of the Southern History Association, McDonald Furman, Ramsey, S. C., died on Friday, Feb. 19, 1904. He joined the Association on April 21, 1897, and was most earnest and helpful throughout the period of his connection. He was born March 1, 1863, was educated in the country schools, in the Greenville Military Institute, and the S. C. College. In the last he was one of the editors of the college magazine. He was always deeply interested in education, history, and all matters of intellectual appeal. Several times he took part in political campaigns. He had a very full and accurate knowledge of local history and genealogy, and could talk in a most entertaining way to school children. He was also a very frequent contributor to the two leading dailies of the State, in fact his views were always welcome on almost any question. One of them declared its columns always open to him on any point. He also prepared reviews for these Publications. He always lived in the locality of his birth. He was the son of Dr. John H. and Mrs. Susan E. (Miller) Furman. He never married.

1

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
SOUTHERN HISTORY ASSOCIATION.

VOL. VIII.

JULY, 1904.

No. 4

THE JOURNAL OF JAMES AULD, 1765-1770.

[The Association is indebted to the Hon. R. T. Bennett, of Wadesboro, N. C., for the Journal which follows. The original is a book six inches long by three and a half inches wide and contains thirty-two pages, of which five in the center are entirely blank, the first nineteen being his personal diary and the last eight memoranda of his law transactions. It looks as though two people wrote it as there is a small difference in the writing between the first and last parts. The first part is easy to read but the ink used for the last part has faded and the writing is cramped. It has no cover and is stitched through the center with very coarse thread.

In a letter to the Editor Mr. Bennett very kindly furnishes the accompanying introductory sketch:

"James Auld, whose diary you are printing, died in Mecklenberg County, Virginia, on his way to or from Maryland in 1780, though Colonel Harrington states that James Auld died in Maryland, May 8th, 1782, but his letter was written when away from the first sources of information. The last will of James Auld is of record in Anson County. It recites that he is of the State of Pee-Dee in the County of Anson in North Carolina and is dated December 9, 1780.

"The destruction of our courthouse here and many of the court records by fire April 2, 1868, imposes upon those who strive to keep touch of the past many perplexities. John Auld, son of James, was clerk of our Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions several years, and Michael Auld, another and younger son, was the incumbent of the same office many years.

"I have not found in our Anson County Records any evidence that James Auld acted as clerk of the old county court in his own name. I believe his service in that office was in the name of his chief, Samuel Spencer, who was an astute thinker and had the 'sap' and smell of the country in him. John Auld served Anson County in the Senate and House of our Legislature several terms.

"I think it unnecessary to cite original sources for the information I am giving. The Record of Wills and the Registry of Deeds of Anson County supply much of it. These Aulds were influential people in their generation—stout-hearted in their devotion to the

cause of the colonies during the Revolution; they had comfortable estates and cultivated minds.

"In the 'Reminiscences' of a Revolutionary soldier in *Russell's Magazine* for October, 1859 (Charleston, S. C., pp. 59-72), is a very lively narrative of the efforts General Harrington made to remove his wife (James Auld's daughter) and family from within the British lines near Haly's Ferry on the Pee Dee River. He sent a comrade, a young man Brown, to slip in and notify Mrs. Harrington, who was at her father's, of the steps he was taking to enable her to join him. After the greatest skill and address, Brown reached the house when suddenly it was surrounded by the British who had learned he was in the locality. He was hidden between the mattress and feather bed, and his hiding place was saved from search by one of the young ladies lying above him and pretending to be very sick. For several hours he stewed and weltered in his sweat box as it was during a hot spell in summer. Finally the enemy left and he himself quickly stole away, but had several other hairbreadth escapes before he got out of danger.

"James Auld was a close neighbor of General William Henry Harrington of Revolutionary fame who married his daughter.

"It may be said of General Harrington in that war, 'His weight is not known although his height has been taken.' General Harrington's son, Colonel Harrington, who wrote the letter dated September, 1845, which you are printing in this connection, was in service during the War of 1812 on the *Decatur*. When he quitted the deck of that vessel he was esteemed at home as the most promising man born in Richmond County. General Greene rested upon General Harrington a good deal and the winter quarters of his army east of the Pee Dee, after the grievous affair at Camden, were chosen upon the judgment and at the instance of General Harrington. I have heard that Harrington Hill near or in Fayetteville, North Carolina, was named in honor of the General and the first man buried there was a veteran of that war who served under the General.

"The Auld graveyard about two miles from Pee Dee Station on the Seaboard Air Line Railroad contains the graves of many of the family marked with mural monuments.

"Some of the early settlers along the Pee Dee River in Anson County who had much influence in shaping events of their day have disappeared totally.

"The late John Robinson, who was the efficient Commissioner of Agriculture in North Carolina, and his brother, Henry Robinson, a citizen of unusual vigor of mind, were descended from the Aulds on their mother's side.

"The courtesy of Henry Robinson's family has enabled me to give hospitality to this Journal.

"My wife, who is so capable in such matters, has gone over the copy of this journal and joins with me in endorsing its accuracy. May 10, 1904.

RISDEN TYLER BENNETT."]

THE JOURNAL.

A Small Journal.

[erasure]

[erasure]

[erasure]

THE TRAVELS OF J. A.
Commencing the 10th day of February, Anno 1765,
and
The accidents & Adventures attending the same.
February 10, 1765.¹

SUNDAY, *Feb. 10: 1765.*

I took my departure from my home on Fishing Creek in Dorchester County, Maryland, where I left a wife and six children, viz: 4 Daughters and two Sons—whose names are as follows: Wifes name Rosannah Auld, a virtuous and beautiful Woman and Mother of the s^d Six children.

	yrs.
1 st Child is a Daughter Ann aged ab ^{ot}	15
2 ^d A Son John aged ab ^t	13
3 a Daughter Rosannah ab ^t	10
4 a Son Michael Piper—ab ^t	8
5 a Daugh Mary—ab ^t	4
6 a Daugh. Betsey—ab ^t	3mo.

I proceeded on horse back all day being very Rainey & Cold till I got to Nanticoke River a very Rotten Road. The first night Lodged at one Beard's 34 miles had pork & homony for Supper.

11 Feb. Crossed Nanticoke River at Bozley's Ferry, Cold & Cloudy & Roads Rotten proceeded to lower Ferry Wicomico & on my way thither got lost & Rode for 10 miles out of the way. Crossed this Ferry w^{ch} was 8 Miles got Corn husks at a French house for my horse he being fatigued with the heavy Roads & dined upon one boiled Egg & a bisket w^{ch} I had in my pocket & passed by Princess Ann Town in ye dark & lodged at one Jessee Kings 3 miles beyond Town that being 11 miles more here I was kindly used but family Itchified.

¹ This date is at the top of the second page, nothing else being on that page.

Feb. Tuesday travelled to Steven's Ferry [torn] Pocomoke 18 miles crossed it at one o'clock travelled 11 miles to One Warrington's where I lodged having been refused lodging in that neighborhood here I was used kindly but poor—dined that day upon one Egg Cone Bisket had in my Pocket Pork and Hominy for Supper & fodder for horse—N. B. [?] called on the Verge of Accomack City at a Wid^e Tayloress on the Road side who fed my horse with husks.

Miles

82 In the whole 82² miles to here.

Wednesday 13th Feb. To Accomack Courte
27 house 27 miles, past it abo^t One o'Clock without
Calling Stopp'd at Roadside & got Oats Straw
for horse of a poor man & proceeded to Pungotegue Church 11 miles and lodged at a small
Lodged house on Roadside 3 miles from thence
14 making 14 miles here the people were young
beginners extremely poor but a clean and a very
Pheenicking dame was the woman, & very oblig-
ing fryed Pork and homony—for Supper Sea
Side Oysters & sort of Liquid they called cof-
fee for breakfast horse fed with Corn & fodder.

Thursday 14th Feb. went back three miles to
a New England man in Pungotegue and three
miles down a neck makes 6 & back again makes
12 and the day lost the New England man not
being ready to Sail otherwise should have sought
for passage dined board on Salt Pork & Irish
Potatoes proceeded that afternoon out of the
Neck & on my Journey ab^ot 10 miles to a Black-
smiths a Small Logged house people much Itchi-
fied & poor lodging, Lodged in my Cloaths &
great Coat a little fodder & Corn for horse fryed

² Figures given above make 84.

meat & hominy for Supper then like for breakfast very dirty and badly mannaged.

- Friday 15th. Feb. Proceeded to Hungor's
10 Church in Northampton about 10 miles & from
thence to Seven Airs's Ferry in order to cross
15 the Bay near Cherry Stones about 15 miles more
where I alighted about Twelve o'Clock at a large
new house a distance from the sd. Airs's dwelling
& belonging to him as I understood kept as a
Tavern or house of Entertainment for Travellers
by a poor Dirty pair and Taylor & his wife and
nothing for Man or horse but Stinking Rum &
as bad Wine no meat & little bread ground at a
hand mill & backed in a dirty manner at the fire
which myself & sev^l other travellers & Passengers
that fell in there Eat with Oysters & Cockles
which we helped provide being there two days

Saturday } Weather Calm & low tides altho' obliged to
Feb. 16 } pay 1/3d pr. Meal for the same without other
diet except a sort of hot water of Clay Col. [?]
which the dirty Queen Called Coffee & some butter
of Various Colours; feather bed & good house
but also dirty—During which time I was obliged
to send Out into the Neighborh^d for Oats to feed
my horse both while there & in crossing the bay
said to be Sixty miles to Norfolk Town

Sunday Feb. 17th Fair Wind, Set out about
said to be 10 o'Clock Arrived at Norfolk Town about 8
60 miles o'clock at Night,

Staunt The Man of War's Cutter come a longside,
20 [?] horses being hoisted out at the wharfe lodged
at one Wrensburch's Tavern he being my old acquaintance
& fencing Master at Annapolis in

Maryland here Letters left with him to be sent by first vessel to Annapolis.

Monday 18 Feb. abot. 12 o'Clock set out for Suffolk Town in Nansemond County Crossing from Norfolk to Portsmouth a hansom little Town over a Small Ferry that crosses Elizabeth River got to a tavern on the Road about 4
 19 o'Clock in afternoon about 19 miles Rainey evening good entertainment of This part of the country. Lands midling good, but Plant. as old & small Indian Corn Tob^o & Tarr the produce very little Wheat

Tuesday Feb. 19th passed through Suffolk Town about 11 o'Clock Cloudy & Cold, a pretty
 11 little Town about 11 miles Navigable River up to it called Nansemond a Bridge crossing it at the Town Trade & Chief exports Carolina and the outposts in Bay and other Craft to Norfolk & West Indias consisting of Pork Tarr & Turpentine Corn Butter Flour etc Brought down thither from other parts of the Country, in said Town in a beautiful Court house a good Church and a School house with Merchants Tradesmen etc having crossed the Bridge arived at my
 3 Friend the Doct's. in about One hour 3 miles under whose hospitable Roof I continued till the 5 Mar^e having myself & horse well taken Care of for several days here was fine Lands in this neighborhood & a fine River w^{ch} is Nansemond River issuing out of James River the lower most of the Rivers falling into Chesepeake Bay.—The
 230 whole to here 230 Miles

March 5th Tuesday Morn set out from the Doct^r in the fork of Nansemond River in Comp^a with him for South Kay Bridge on Black Water

- River, Roads bears still ab^t South W^s from Chesapeake Bay. Lands are extremely poor & Sandy Over run with a sort of short Sedge in the woods few Red Oaks no White Oaks except a few in Branches which are well formed by nature for Mills and a number of them in which barely grows Juniper, plenty of Pine timber to supply Saw Mills numbers of Tarr kilns plenty of Lightwood, upon the up Lands small distances from the Branches Plantations in General Small & worn houses Chiefly Wood, a pine Burr mast by which hoggs get fat, it's a small kernall between the prickle orr parting of every division Round the Burr which is called the Seed and about the size of a kernall of a small nectarine a sweet but tintured of the pine. Grist Mills plenty but few Saw Mills—Arrived at South Kay that afternoon at Blackwater River and continued that night at Mr. Thos. Fisher's who intermarr^d the Wid^o Webb formerly Mary Temble. Wednesday March 6th proceeded to Notway River being the next Considerable River Over which is also a fine Bridge, piney Lands much the same as last ment^d rather a little better Tarr and Tarr kilns plenty—which they cart to South Quay & being stored there by Mr. Fisher is Carted by the owners to Suffolk Town at the
- 15 head of Nansemond in Virginia being about 15 miles from Notway to Blackwater & from thence to Suffolk at the head of Nansemond 25 as ment^d in Tuesday's travel makes 40 miles Cartage from thence we proceeded forward the same day to
- 12 Hill's Ferry on Meherrin 12 miles the next River of more note and magnitude than either Blackwater or Notway the Last mentioned making it

- is s^d the same mouth with Meherrin into a Sound. We lodged hereat Majr. Henry Hill's a grand liver in Carolina. We fared well that night & all next day being Rainey those Rivers contain Plenty of Fresh Water Fish in the Spring and the Water Continually runs down without overflowing—Friday 8th March. We set out abo^t 9 o'Clock for Roanoke where we
- 30 Reached about 4 o'clock 30 miles an^r. River of first Magnitude Lands here high upon the River and said to Overflow with the fresh [ets] which at times Rise from Thirty foot to 60 foot perpendicular—through this 30 miles between Meherrin and Roanoke Lands midling good & upon the River Roanoke on both sides excessively Rich large Quantities of ash and Sickomore & Elm Walnut Poplar & Oak Juniper & Cyprus in low grounds. Crossed this Ferry paying a bit
- 8 & 6d & travelled on About 8 miles farther still about South West to a little Tavern on the Road Side where the Doct^r horse being Sick was likely to fail. Put up, here this night nothing remarkable happening this day—

- Saturday March 9th we set out about Six O'Clock in the morning—got to the head of Mat-tachi Murden called Fish Cre. [ek] abo^t 12 miles
- 12 more where we had breakfast prepared ready against we come the Doct having sent notice of our Approach the over night by his Cartman who travelled the same Road from Virginia with his Cart to the Estate of the Doct^r whereon his Son in Law Murden lived. Fishing Creek Lands piney and Sandy in General bulk & very good on the branches here I received great kind-

ness and amongst friends & no accident remarkable.

14th Mar. Remained at Mr. Murdens to this 14th where
1767 I set out for Halifax Town about 15 miles and there being recommended by my friend put up at the house of Jo^s Montfort^s Esq. & afterwards settled in Town and took the county clerkship of him and kept a store. Here I remained untill June following when I went to Maryland on a visit to my friends & returned in ab^t three weeks to Halifax & occupied the Clk's Office & kept a Store for the before ment^d J. Montfort untill the Augt foll. then ret^d to Maryland again and removed my family to Halifax in North Carolina where we arrived on the 25th Day of Sept. 1765 there Settled lived in Town abo^t 2 yrs had a son born us called James 30 Nov. 66 dyed 21 Jany. and bought a house & Settlement on Mill Swamp abo^t 650 a large Orchard & house & about Seven Miles from Town removed there in March 1767 Edwin Turner my overseer endifferent Crop 5 hands hired of John Ford, & one of Wm. Hall for maid at Town in 68. Overseer myself & attended the office at Town every day also hired 3 hands from Brown & two from Stewart made a very fine crop employed a Carpenter by the year who proved Tardy this yr. Purchased a Negro Wench & Child for £90 prov^l^a paid in Corn & Brandy except £10 to Ballance,—in 69 removed to town & put Rich^d Clayton Overseer

^a Joseph Montfort was for many years one of the most promient men in this section.

^b This no doubt means provincial bills, which were never at par with sterling, although in this decade the depreciation was not as great as it had been. In 1767 these bills were passing at 1.82 to 1 sterling while they were issued at the rate of 1.33 to 1.

hired two hands & bought two old fellows made no Crop & lost the Wheat I had made the y^r before—discharged him & employed Wm. Chiconibury as Overseer in the year 70, who made a poor Crop hired 2 hands & had same two old Fellows Clayton had that some better crop removed out to the Plant^a again in the fall of 70 discharged the overseer & in 71 hired no hands made about 30 Barrells of Corn with one old Fellow and help of the house Wench the other old fellow dying in the Winter past in Nov. 70. Travelled up to Anson County abo^t 200 miles contracked with Col^o Sam^l Spencer^s for the Clk-ship of that County & my first Court Commenced Jany 1771 this fall in Oct. Negro Wench Cate Run away—Continued travelling & attending Anson County Court with my Sons John & Michael untill January Court 72 when John is placed for One y^r at Chatham County Court house in a Store for Mr. Near & Kennon in comp^a. Is also Depty Clk for Mr. Wm. Hooper of that County—myself pursuing my attendance at Anson County Court untill the April Court 72, proposing now to move my Family to Anson County before July Court.

[The rest of the diary below began at the end of the original diary book and then continued regularly for nearly seven and a half pages as follows:]

M^d. Inquire for Jacob Hull, the Son of Dan^l. Hull in N^o Carolina Craven City near Dawson's Creek and write to him on behalf of his Father & inquire where to direct to him.

^s Spencer was a leader in his section. He became judge of the Superior Court and was a member of the conventions of 1788 and 1789 which considered and finally adopted the Federal constitution. He opposed the adoption of this constitution at Hillsboro in 1788.

reced for Mar. Lycence [March license] Jany 15th 1766
Benj^a Barron and
Lin Williams. [some figures illegible.]
Dr. Maj^r. Montfort.
Feb. 28th 1766 prov. to D Stokes for Danl. Lovell. .£5.0.0
By reced in part of D. L. 3£ & cost.
reced of Mr. Pride for Search & copy confess two Deeds
at 2/8 prov^s each5/4
reced of Storey for One Land Entry one Dollar.
Recd for Search Hobgoods Will2/8 prov.
Rec'd for Search Tho^a. Davis's Will 4/—
Reced for copy confess Deed from Norflect to Conner 2/8
Mar. 1766 Reced for Charity Conner's Entry 21/— &
Cost
Mar. 20th 1766. Reced of James Drake for Mar. Lysence
with Hartwell Davis 30/— prov.
Dr. Maj. Montfort
To reced for Search & Short Copy & Judge's Exp. 2/8
pd. y^o [you] in accot. with Winfield Wright my part 10/—
prov. lent D. Stokes in Store to make change with Doct.
Schulzer 2/—
Dr. Rich^d. Hall
To prov. lent yo & Janny Troughton 8/—
29th. Mar. Dr. Rich^d Hall
To [illegible] by Janny Troughton 5/— [illegible.]
reced for Deed from Hairgrave to Turner ¾ Do from
Webb to D^o. ¾
10th Apl. Dr. Rich^d Hall
To prov. by Jammey Troughton 3 p.
Apl. To proc to y^self when your horses came home . .6 p.
Cr. by half days work yr. negro.
Apl. 26 Dr. James Mat. Inee

*See note 4.

To pro^r lent yourself. 30 p/—
 May 7th reced for Mar Lycence
 Wm. Thomas Milley Smith 30 p pr.
 5th May 1766 Dr
 Maj^r. Montfort
 To Mar. Lycence money
 Thomas Wiggins and
 Francis Brown 30 p. proc.
 17 Sept 1765. I. Montfort Esq^r. Dr.
 To Mar. Lycence Rich^d. Burt & Eliz^a. Williams, by D
 Stokes 30 pr.
 9th Sept. 1765 To Ditto
 Elisha Hunter & Ann Edwards by D. Stokes—30 p. proc.
 8th May. reced for Mar. Lycence Edw^d. Barrett & Priscilla
 Marshall 21/ & Cost.
 14th May 1766 Dr. Tho^a. Davis
 To Over p^d. yo. Beef yo say 6 pr proc late in the Fall 1766,
 paid you when I was Sick at yr request 20/ proc.
 [Apparently four words interlined, but illegible.]
 May, 1766. Dr. Doc. Frederick Schulzer.
 To part of 4 Several Quarters of Stall fed Beef I bought
 of Mr. T. Davis at 3^d [illegible]
 viz:
 pt. 1 Fore Quarter 36½
 part 1 hinds D^o. 29

^rIn the earlier years of the province barter was the principal method of exchange and certain commodities were receivable for public and other dues at fixed rates. These commodities, the rate and the place of delivery was fixed by law and published by proclamation. Hence barter came to be known as "proclamation money." In 1748 certain bills of credit were issued for defense, arrears of salaries, quit rents, redeeming outstanding bills, etc. The act under which these were issued declared them proclamation money. They came to be known as "new proclamation" to distinguish from the old barter currency. It is probable that at the date of Auld's writing he had these bills in mind and "proc." and "prov." simply indicate two sorts of paper currency.

pt. I Fore D ^o	26½
“ I Hinder D ^o	25

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reced 30 p in full.

May 20th 1766 Reced for Mar. Lysence Edw^d. Jones and Eliza. Smith 25 p

June 10, 1766 pd. Caleb Gardner 30 proc. for making shoes vide [?] his acco. Settld. him off his whole acco.

Elias Hilliard & Lydia Pope pd. for Mar Lysence 39 p. proc.

June 11th 1766 Dr. Maj^r. Montfort by D. S.

To Mar Lysence for Arthur Whitehurst & Frances Fawsett, 30 p

reced June 12th 1766 for Recording W^m. Burgess Mark of Cattle 2/8 proc.

June 25 Reced for Search & Copy Courses [?] Deed from Rich^d. Taturn to Jos. John Alston—2/8 prov.

July 7th reced for Short Copy Ind. and cert John Potts vs. Tach^d. Smith—2/8 proc.

Aug^a 6th 1766 Reced of Linam Lunceford for two Deeds from one Beverly Brown & anth^h [another] from Elijah Fenn ¾ each is 6/8.

Augst. 6 Reced for Search & Short Co W^m. Douglass's Will—2/8.

Aug^a. 12th 1766, reced for Mar. Lysence John Williamson and Abbe Whitehead 26/8 proc.

AGES.

James Sherwood Auld was born, 15th January 1778.

Henry Wm. Auld was born the 14th March 1781.

Rosanna Elizabeth Auld was born 1st March 1783.

Charles Auld, was born the 13th December 1787.

Alexander Auld, was born 16th September 1789.

Sarah Auld was born the 25th December 1792.

[The above record of births was written on the back of a fly leaf of Pope's *Essay on Man*. The original sheet is 5½ in. long and 3¼ in. wide with one margin partly torn off, but none of the writing being affected. This sheet was found with the little Journal.]

[The following letter is a loose paper sent with the journal by Hon. R. T. Bennett. It is written on a double sheet of paper but takes up not more than one-third of the space. The writing is very easy to read.]

Beauseyour, near Stewart Town Post Office.

Richmond County N. C. Sept^r. 1845.

My dear Sir:

The following list contains most of the information desired by your letters. The Reverend Michael Piper a Protestant Episcopal Clergyman married Miss Rosanna Button—They emigrated from Ireland to Maryland—Their Children were two daughetrs, Elizabeth born in Ireland & Rosanna born in Maryland. Elizabeth married a Mr. Beckingham of Maryland by whom she had two sons—Rosanna married a Mr. Howes Goldsborough of Maryland, by whom she had one daughter Caroline. After Mr. Goldsborough's death she married James Auld, Esq. a lawyer of Maryland, & had the following children.

	Born.	Married.	Died.
James	14th Oct ^r . 1747		30th. June 1751
Ann	26th Dec ^r . 1749	never married	1st. March 1822
John	30th May 1752		28th. Nov ^r . 1796
Rosanna	2nd Dec ^r . 1754		13th. Oct ^r . 1828
Michael	3rd March 1757		18th. Sept ^r . 1788
Mary	5th Oct ^r . 1759		14th. Oct. 1760
2nd Mary	14th Oct ^r . 1761		25th. Oct ^r . 1831
Elizabeth	11th Nov ^r . 1764	never married	
2nd James	30th Nov ^r . 1766		21st. Jan. 1770

James Auld Esq. father of the above died in Maryland 8th May 1782.

Their mother, Mrs. Rosanna Auld died in Anson County, N. C., 11th Nov. 1792.

Caroline, daughter of Mr. Howes Goldsborough & his wife Rosanna Piper (afterwards Mrs. Auld) was born about 1744 and was married to Mr. John Goldsborough about 1762. She died in Maryland in 1816.

Mr. John Goldsborough died in Nov^r. 1803—Their children were John, Howes, Robert & Eliza (twins born 1st April 1775). Matthew & Samuel (twins) Charles, Horatio.

John Auld 2nd Son & 3rd child of James Auld & Rosanna his wife was married in Chatham County, N. C. to Elizabeth Scarlock the 17th August 1775. He died in Wadesborough N. C. 28th Nov^r. 1796. She died in Anson County N. C. the 26th August 1795. Their children were Elizabeth born 29th May 1776 & died in Oct^r. 1776—James Sherwood born 15th Jany 1778, died in 1827, Henry W^m. born 1781 died Oct^r. 1823. 2nd Elizabeth born 1st March 1783 married to James Garns Esq. & died 1803. Sarah born 1785 died 1788. Charles born 13th Dec^r. 1787 died 30th Jan^r 1797. Alexander born 16th Sept^r. 1789 died in 1822—

2nd Sarah born 25th Dec^r. 1792 married in Fayetteville North Carolina to Doctor James Bogle, now (1845) a widow residing in the City of New York.

Rosanna 4th child of James Auld & Rosanna his wife was married the 31st July 1776 to Henry W^m. Harrington of South Carolina. Their children were

Rosanna born 2nd Feby 1788 Died in Wadesborough N. C. 30th March 1838.

Harriet 29th. Oct^r. 1779 Died in Pittsboro, N. C. 16th Sept^r. 1780.

Henry Wm. 14th March 1782 Died Richmond City N. C. 23rd March 1792.

James Auld 11th August 1785 Died Marlboro Dist. S^o. C^o. 21st March 1834.

2nd Harriet 24th Jany. 1788 Died Richmond City N. C. 2nd Oct^r. 1791.

Michael 5th Dec^r. 1790 Died Richmond City N. C. 13th Jan'y 1794.

2nd Henry W^m. 5th July 1793.

3rd Harriet, 22nd Nov^r. 1795.

Caroline Goldsborough 8th Nov^r. 1798. Died Salisbury N. C. 10th April 1829.

Please to excuse me to my two Scribbling Sisters and tell them that I have not a word of news to write them and writing a good deal disagrees with my head. tell Naney. I wait to have something chearfull to write her about when I am in another mood than at present, and she may depend on Scribble enough as she desires. and tell rattle Braind Girl she shall too. Mr. Goldsborough Joins me in being Affectionately remembered to you all, and I remain Dr. Mamah y^r. ever Affectionate & Dutiful Daughter

Caroline Goldsborough.

P. S.

little John presents
his Duty to you all & says
he can just spell Words with
three Letters, he intends to
write soon he says.

[The above was copied from a loose paper sent by Hon. R. T. Bennett. The first part seems to have been torn off, leaving only a small portion of the letter. The writing is easy to read.]

LONG'S PRIORITY IN THE DISCOVERY OF ANESTHESIA.

By C. H. ANDREWS, Milledgeville, Ga.

For many years prior to 1857, on Broad street, and opposite the principal entrance to the beautiful campus of the State University at Athens, Georgia, there stood an unpretentious frame building, then known as "Long's Drug Store."

In March, 1854, early in the day, a gentleman in appearance, and a stranger to that little city, entered that old drug store, and inquired of the clerks for Dr. Crawford W. Long. He was told that Dr. Long had not yet come to the store that morning, but probably he would be in in a little while; and the stranger was invited to a seat by the fire,—if he would wait to see the Doctor.

In a few moments Dr. Long came, and as he approached the fire, I said to the gentleman: "This is Dr. Long, for whom you inquired," and I said to the Doctor, "this gentleman wishes to see you."

As they met the gentleman presented his card and said "I am Dr. Charles T. Jackson, of Boston, Massachusetts, one of the claimants of the discovery of the anesthetic effects of sulphuric ether; and as you are another claimant I have come to see you, to talk over the matter, and to compare evidences of our mutual claims."

Dr. Long replied that he was glad to meet Dr. Jackson and

[The discovery of Anesthesia is of such vast significance to the human race, that everything bearing on it has an unusual interest. The following vivid report of a historic interview, though it adds no great fact of importance to what was already known, seems worthy of attention, especially since it contains Dr. Jackson's frank avowal of Long's priority of discovery.—Eps.]

more than pleased at this personal interview; and would cheerfully exhibit and compare evidences of their claims to this discovery.

After some further talk Dr. Jackson returned to his hotel and Dr. Long to his home. Both soon returned to the store with books and papers, ready for this important conference. They agreed that this interview should be witnessed by others; and I, the principal apothecary and bookkeeper in the drug store of the Doctors Long (two brothers), was especially invited to scrutinize and compare each brief of evidence submitted.

Preliminary to the exhibition of any documentary evidence Dr. Long stated that this subject of anesthesia was first suggested to him by the fact that persons inhaling "laughing gas," as it was vulgarly called, slightly injured themselves in their varied antics, but after the effects of the gas had passed off, had no knowledge of how they had hurt themselves, and experienced no pain at all at the time.

"At social gatherings of the young people where I then lived," said he, "they would engage in the fun of inhaling this 'laughing gas,' and if they could not obtain the gas they would substitute sulphuric ether. Under the influence of this, some persons would do the most extraordinary things. As an experiment I would at times take part in these frolics and I always became belligerent. I would carefully note the absence of all knowledge of and the painlessness of my injuries. In the study of this subject I experimented upon others and upon myself until I became satisfied that by the use of sulphuric ether as an anesthetic, surgical operations could be performed without pain to the patient; and I determined to test it at the first opportunity offered in my practice.

"On the 30th day of March, 1842, I was called upon to extirpate a tumor upon the neck of Mr. James M. Venable, of Jackson county, Ga. In this operation I used sulphuric ether

by inhalation as an anesthetic. The operation was eminently satisfactory and the anesthesia was complete. Other physicians and medical students, with a number of other citizens, witnessed this operation and my use of ether.

"After that, whenever the opportunity offered, I used ether in all kinds of small surgical operations and discussed this subject with physicians and other citizens; and anxiously awaited an opportunity to amputate an arm or a leg, with ether as an anesthetic." * * *

Then Dr. Jackson said: "I am an analytical chemist of Boston, Massachusetts. A few doors from my office in Boston was the office of Dr. T. G. Morton, a dentist. On the 30th day of September, 1846, Dr. Morton came into my office and said, 'Dr. Jackson, I have to perform an operation upon a patient who is very sensitive to pain, and exceedingly nervous. Can you give me something to use that will, to some extent, deaden the pain and overcome that nervousness?' I took a small vial of sulphuric ether and added to it some essential oils to disguise its odor as much as possible. I explained how the patient must inhale it and cautioned him as to its use,—but did not tell him what the article was. Before very long Dr. Morton returned to my office delighted with the use of what I had given him and urged me to tell him what it was. Frequently after this Dr. Morton called upon me for similar aid and constantly importuned me to tell him what the mixture was that he was using. Finally he and I entered into an arrangement for the manufacture, use and sale of the mixture, and applied for a patent with the name of 'Letheon.' After this Dr. Morton petitioned the United States Congress for a large sum of money, of the nature of a pension, for the discovery of the anesthetic effects of this preparation by inhalation. Incensed at this action of Dr. Morton, I annulled my contract with him, disputed his claims before Congress, and set up my own claim to this discovery.

.

"This action of Dr. Morton before Congress brought forward Dr. Horace Wells, a dentist of Hartford, Connecticut, another claimant for the first discovery of anesthesia by inhalation of 'Nitrous Oxide Gas,' on the 11th of December, 1844.¹"

Both gentlemen were deeply interested in their recital of their most important experience. Surprise and profound thought rested upon the face of Dr. Jackson, for much that Dr. Long related was *news* to him.

He was a spare made man, some 5 feet 9 inches in height, and of a dark and swarthy complexion, and apparently about 40 years of age. Dr. Long was a larger, taller, and more robust man, very nearly 6 feet tall, and spare made. His complexion was florid, his hair and beard a dark auburn, and his eyes were very dark blue. He was born in Danielsville, Madison county, Georgia, on November 1, 1815. He graduated from Franklin College (the State University) in August, 1835. Those of his class who became most prominent in after years were Francis S. Bartow, who was a member of the First Confederate Congress, was colonel of the Eighth Georgia Regiment in the Confederate army, and as commander of a brigade was killed at the battle of Manassas, on July 22, 1861; and Charles W. West, who at one time was a professor in the Medical College at Augusta, Ga., and later a professor in the Medical College at Savannah, Ga.

The interview between Doctors Jackson and Long occupied the entire day. Careful scrutiny and comparison were necessary. Much documentary evidence, such as books of entry, letters, certificates and affidavits were submitted and

¹ These several claims before the United States Congress having become known to Dr. Long at the time he had requested the Honorable William C. Dawson, then one of the Senators from Georgia, to have inserted in the proceedings then before Congress respecting this subject matter his name as claimant to this discovery wherever the names of Morton, Jackson and Wells appeared.

each particular one was carefully inspected. It was a tiresome day's work. Besides this interview with Dr. Long, Dr. Jackson contemplated a visit to the gold mines in Northeast Georgia, and determined to leave Athens on the following day. On his return he would see Dr. Long again. As the route of Dr. Jackson to the gold mines would take him through the town of Jefferson, where Dr. Long practiced his profession for a number of years, and where he used sulphuric ether as an anesthetic in a surgical case for the first time in 1842, and where live many witnesses to his first use of an anesthetic in surgery, Dr. Long gave Dr. Jackson the names of physicians and other citizens of Jefferson, and of Jackson county, wishing Dr. Jackson to see and talk with them on this subject of his discovery. Among the names given Dr. Jackson was that of James M. Venable, from whose neck a tumor was taken in 1842 while he was under the influence of ether.

After some days Dr. Jackson returned to Athens and called again on Dr. Long at the old drug store. Long and earnest conversation respecting this claim for the discovery of anesthesia by the inhalation of sulphuric ether occupied the time of these eminent men, both pleasing and instructive. Late in the afternoon as he bade each one of us good-bye, standing in the doorway of that old drug store, Dr. Jackson said: "Well, Dr. Long, you certainly have the advantage of us other claimants to the first discovery and use of the anesthetic effects of sulphuric ether; but I think that we have the advantage of first publishing it to the world."

If performing operations in the presence of the physicians, medical students and many other citizens of high character; the discussion of this subject with physicians, editors and the faculty of medical colleges; the publication as to this discovery in newspapers, and a medical journal—if all this does not make a case of "*publishing this discovery to the world*," then Dr. Jackson's statement is true in every particular.

If there was a doubt in the mind of any one as to the righteous claim of Dr. Long in 1854 being the discoverer of sulphuric ether as an anesthetic, there is no doubt of it at this time, and at this date in 1904.

His claim has been discussed in the Senate of the United States. Dr. J. Marion Sims, of New York, investigated the claim of Dr. Long and published *the same* in a New York surgical journal.

The Legislature of the State of Georgia has selected Dr. Crawford W. Long as one of the two greatest men in her history, whose statue shall illustrate Georgia in the halls of the capitol at Washington, *because* of his untold beneficence to the suffering, in his discovery of anesthesia.

Dr. Long was a physician of eminent ability. He attended medical colleges in Augusta, Ga., and in Philadelphia. He practiced medicine for a number of years in Jefferson, Jackson county, Ga., and removed thence to Atlanta, Ga., in 1851. During that year he removed to Athens, Ga., having joined his younger brother, Dr. H. R. J. Long, in the purchase of the drug business of Dr. E. R. Ware. In connection with his brother, he continued the practice of medicine to the date of his death, June 16, 1878. At the bedside of a patient whom he had tended the entire previous night, a stroke of paralysis ended his useful life, and chilled forever his warm and sympathetic heart. Tears suffused the eyes of many to whom in life he had furnished relief; and to-day, around the entire civilized world, wherever suffering runs riot, and wherever pain is one's heritage, pæans of thanksgiving and of gratitude ascend for the life, and the wisdom, and the discovery of complete anesthesia in the inhalation of sulphuric ether, as made by Dr. Crawford W. Long on March 30, 1842.

THE QUAKER JANNEYS OF CHESHIRE AND THEIR PROGENITORS.

BY MILES WHITE, JR., Baltimore, Md.

(Concluded in this number.)

III. An account of Randle and Ellen [Alrodd] Janney and their youngest son, Richard, has been given hereinbefore. Thomas, their eldest son, was born at Styall, where he continued to live, and where all his children were born. He was *bapt.* June 27, 1605, and in the church register is recorded as "Thomas Jannie sonne of Randle Jannynne of Styall." He married, Sept. 3rd, 1625, Elizabeth Worthington, when his name is spelled Janney, but it is generally spelled Janey when his children's baptisms are recorded. He and his wife joined Friends a short time after the Society came into existence; he is mentioned several times in their early annals, and their meetings were sometimes held at his house; he suffered distress of goods, was imprisoned and otherwise persecuted on account of his faith, as told in Besse's *Sufferings*. He and others purchased and presented to the Meeting the burial ground at Mobberley, and in his will left a legacy to the Poor of his town, and appears to have been possessed of some ready money, as he mentions in his will £33, due by members of his family. Whether or not he was the Thomas Janney who was Mayor of Stockport in 1639 I do not know, but probably not, as in 1637 he was living in Styall, and later was described as being of Pownall Fee. Still, as Stockport was only a few miles away, he may have lived there a part of his life; and the only Thomas Janney mentioned in the Parish Register of St. Mary's, Stockport, between 1584 and 1627, who did not die in in-

fancy is the one who was *bapt.* in 1620, and who would probably have been too young to have been Mayor in 1639.

Thomas Janney died 12 mo. 17, 1677, and his widow, Elizabeth, 12 mo. 19, 1681-2, and both were buried in Friends' burial-ground at Mobberley. His will, of which a full abstract follows, is still preserved at Chester, in it his name is spelled Thomas Janney, the seal is in wax and has the letters T. I. impressed therein. There is an inventory amounting to £53, 19s., 10d. taken Sept. 6, 1678, by Robert Smith, Thomas Pott and John Corbishley, appraisers, and the will was proven at Chester Sept. 10, 1678, before Henry Pigot, Surrogate, by Richard Janney.

Will of Thomas Janney, the Elder, of Pownall fee, in the county of Chester, Yeoman, bearing date the 10th day of the 2nd month called April 1677.

I leave £4, in consideration of a Heriot.

I leave to my dear Wife Elizabeth Janney all my Goods &c which are at my Daughter Mary Piersons, also one Bedstead that stands in the Parlour at my own House.

I give & bequeath unto my son Thomas Janney the Table in the House and formes belonging to it, the Salt Coffe, the Seate that standeth at the side of the House, the Boards & shelves in the House & Buttery, one Bedstead that stands in the chamber at the Chimney side, two stone grindstones & the best chair in the House.

Item. I give and bequeath to my son Henry Janney £6 of ready money, part of a Bond due to me from Hugh Burgess, my Son in Law.

Item. I give to my dau^r Mary Pierson & her Son either of them 40s the rem^r of the bond before ment^d owing by Hugh Burgess.

Item. I give & bequeath to my grandchild Jacob Janney 40s being part of the £20 my Son Thomas Janney oweth me by Bill.

Item. I give & bequeath unto my grandchildren Tho^s Janney, Abel Janney & Joel Janney £4 apiece part of the Money my son Thomas oweth me.

Item. I give & bequeath unto my Daughter Mary Pierson £3 p^t of the money my son Thomas oweth me.

Item. It is my will & mind that 40s be paid for my Wife's heriot if she survives me, parte of the said Money my son Tho^s oweth me.

Item. It is my will & mind that within 3 months after my decease be given unto the Poor of Pownall Fee 20^s to be disposed of & divided amongst the said Poore by Thomas Pott, Robert Smith & Hugh Burgess, of Pownall, to see thereto, being the rem^r of the said sum of £20 my son Tho^s oweth me.

Item. I give & bequeath unto my Son in Law & Dau^r Hugh & Martha Burgess either of them 20^s out of the Sum of £5 John Worthington oweth me by Bond.

Item. I give unto my Dau^r Martha Burgess the Lesser Silver Spooⁿe.

Item. I give & bequeath unto my Brother Richard Janney 20^s, being part of the Money John Worthington oweth me.

Item. I give & bequeath unto my Brother Randle Janney 5^s p^t of the Money John Worthington oweth me.

Item. I give & bequeath unto Mary Boardman my kinswoman 5^s part of the Money John Worthington oweth me.

Item. I give unto my Bro. Richard's 3 grand children being children of Thos. Janney dec^d the sum of 5^s each to be divided amongst them "forth" of the Money John Worthington oweth me.

Item. I give unto W^m Janney of Handforth 5^s part of the Money John Worthington oweth me.

Item. I give unto W^m Janneys children 5^s to be divided amongst them p^t of the Money John Worthington oweth me.

Item. I give to Mary Bancroft of Wilmslow 5^s.

With respect to the residue of the sd £5 John Worthington oweth me, I leave to my Wives free disposal.

It. I give to my Friend Thomas Pott 2 dozen of Silver Buttons.

Item. I give 20^s to be disposed of at the sight of my son Tho^s Janney & Edward Alcock, purchase of the Land leading to our burial place.

Item. I leave unto Thomas Shiddell [?] 1 Silver Spooⁿe & Ladle that was his Fathers.

Item. It is my will & mind that after my Exrs. disbursements about the management of this my Will be paid, the remainder of my Goods not heretofore bequeathed I give to my dear Son Henry Janney & my Dau^r Mary Pearson to be equally divided between them.

Lastly. I do nominate & app^t my Brother Richard Janney of Ardwick in the coy of Lancaster & my beloved Son Henry Janney of Stockport in the coy of Chester Exrs of this my last Will.

Witnesses

THOMAS JANNEY [T. I.]

Row ALCOCK

ROBERT ALCOCK

Mr. Thomas Cooper, of Congleton, who sent me the above, states that parts of the will are very difficult to read; perhaps this accounts for the name of the youngest son of Thomas and Margery Janney being given as Joel instead of Joseph, though it may possibly be Joel in the original.

Thomas and Elizabeth (Worthington) Janney had the following named six children:

CHILDREN :²⁰

1. Marye, *bapt.* Mch. 19, 1625-6, *d.* 7 mo. 3, 1698, *m.* 12 mo. 3, 1663-4, Robert Peirson of Pownall Fee, who *d.* 5 mo. 23, 1674. They

²⁰ The dates of these children's baptisms are taken from Registers of Wilmslow Parish; those of their or their children's births, marriages, deaths or burials from Friends' Records.

had one son Enoch, *b.* 11 mo. 30, 1665, *d.* 1 mo. 2, 1680-1. Mary's husband was, probably, the Robert Pearson, who in 1673, had goods taken from him for Tithes, as related by Besse: his was doubtless the "Estate of Robert Pearson of Pownall Fee," which was administered upon in 1675, the Inventory of which is now preserved at Chester. The Thomas and Robert Pearson³⁰ who came to Penna. in 1683 and 1682 respectively were probably related to him.

2. Margaret, *bapt.* Mch. 16, 1627, *d.* 11 mo. 11, 1673, *bur* at Mobberley.

3. Martha, *bapt.* June 6, 1630, *d.* 2 mo. 4, 1702, *m.* 12 mo. 12, 1672, Hugh Burgess of Pownall Fee, who *d.* 3 mo. 23, 1713, aged 74 years. They were both buried at Mobberley; Martha was a minister; I do not know how many children they had. It was at her house that her brother Thomas died in 1696, while on a visit to England. There are many entries in the Stockport Registers, concerning the Burgess family and some in those of the Parish of Bidston, and the Friends' Records doubtless speak of them also. The persecutions of various members of the Burgess family are recorded in Besse's *Sufferings of the Quakers*; and in his *Brief Account of Many Prosecutions of Quakers in Exchequer and Ecclesiastical and other Courts*, published

³⁰Thomas Peirson of Pownall fee, Mason, married at Thomas Janney's house, 2 mo. 18, 1683, Margery Smith, dau of Robert and Ellen Smith of Pownall fee, and came to America, that year, in the same ship with Thomas Janney, the "Endeavor" of London, (*Pa. Mag. Hist. and Biog.* vol. viii. p. 330). They had 8 children born in Penna., two of whom, Robert and Enoch, had the same names as Mary Janney Peirson's husband and son. Their dau. Sarah, *b.* 2 mo. 8, 1697, married John West and was mother of the noted artist, Benjamin West. As John West was not then in membership with Friends, the marriage was not accomplished according to the good order of the Society. Galt in his biography of Benjamin West states that he was a Friend and gives an account of the [supposed] action of the Friends' Meeting in regard to permitting him to study painting. Both Smith and Cope, after careful investigation, find these statements to be without foundation, and that though, perhaps, John West as a young man, probably, had been a Friend, yet when he came to America he was not one, and did not join the Society until 1759, (*Hist. Delaware Co., Pa.*, p. 512; *Hist. Chester Co., Pa.*, p. 761; see also *The American Friend*, vol. vi, p. 1218). Dr. Smith erroneously states (p. 491) that Thomas and Margery came with William Penn on his first voyage to America, and attributes to him some of the actions of the — Pearson from Chester, who came in the "Welcome" with Penn in 1682, and whose Christian name is supposed to have been Robert (*Hist. Chester Co., Pa.*, p. 21), and at whose suggestion the name of "Upland" was changed to "Chester"; and who is said to have been appointed by Penn as a member of his council in 1682, (*Janney's Life of Penn*, 1852, pp. 196, 203), and to have walked on his left side when he went to meet the Indians at Shackamaxon to make the Great Treaty, (*Clarkson's Life of Penn*, 1827, vol. i, p. 130). If as has been stated (*Janney's Life of Penn*, p. 202), Benjamin West introduced a portrait of his grandfather into his celebrated painting of the treaty scene, he also was historically inaccurate, as his grandfather was not in America in 1682.

in London, 1736, Joseph Besse says that in Cheshire in 1732, "Hugh Burgis of Wimslow was prosecuted in Ecclesiastical Court at the suit of Thomas Bolton, Tithe Farmer. Burgis was also prosecuted for Tithes of Calves, Lambs, Geese, Bees, &c., but after much trouble and Expense was relieved by a Prohibition out of the King's Bench." This possibly refers to a son of Martha Janney. There are at Chester the wills of Hugh Burgess, of Hollinlane in Styall, yeoman, 1713; and of Hugh Burgess, of Pownall Fee, yeoman, 1735; the former is probably that of Martha's husband, the latter perhaps that of some near relative. In an article on Pownall Fee in *Cheshire Notes and Queries* (vol. i, p. 22) it is said that Hugh Burgess was Collector of Land Tax in 1723, and Daniel Burgess and Peter Burgess were Constables in 1726. There are in Bucks County, Penna., some persons of this name, but I do not know that they came from Cheshire. The Janneys and Burgesses were associated together from early times for we read in an account of Wilmslow Parish, that Thomas Hogh, Robt Janney, yomen and Hugh Burges and Laurence Burges, husbandmen [and others] gave testimony "the first day of April, the yere of the reigne of kynge Henry the viijth [1492]" that the lands of the Leghs held in Fulshaw were held of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. (Earwaker's, *East Cheshire*, Vol. I, p. 157).

4. Randle, bapt. Dec. 16, 1632, d. 3 mo. 17, 1674, bur. at Mobberley.

5. Thomas, bapt. Jany. 11, 1634, d. 12 mo. 12, 1696, bur. at Mobberley, m. at James Harrison's house Pownall Fee, 9 mo. 24, 1660, Margary Heath of Horton, Staffordshire. He was a prominent member and minister of the Society of Friends, and is mentioned in numerous publications. "He was convinced of the truth as held by Friends, (at the first preaching thereof in Cheshire), about the year 1654, he being in the twenty-first year of his age." "The next year he received a gift in the ministry, * * * *; and travelled into many parts of England, and also in Ireland, and had a fervent and sound testimony for truth." (*The Friend*, Vol. XXVII, p. 340; *Piety Promoted*, 1789, Vol. I, p. 228; *Penna. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 212). In 1663 and at other times he suffered distress of goods for tithes (Besse's *Sufferings*, Vol I, pp. 104, 105); in 1669 he visited Ireland, "and many in divers parts of the Nation were convinced of the Truth and joined with Friends." (Rutty's *Hist. of Friends in Ireland*, 1st ed. p. 132). In 1677, he wrote the preface to a book of Alexander Laurence's entitled *An Answer to a Book Published by Richard Smith*, etc., (Jos. Smith's *Catalogue of Friends Books*). In 1679 he and 32 others signed a testimony against William Rogers, of Bristol, for having written against a book of Robert Barclay's (*Evans Exposition* p. xxvii). He is mentioned as having served on various Committees of Morley Mo. Mtg., and was well known to George Fox and William Penn.

In Friends' Records the residence of Thomas and Margery Janney is described as Pownall Fee, except at the times of birth and death of their dau. Martha, when it is stated to have been Cheadle, and therefore, we may infer that for a year or two they lived there and then moved back to his old home which was at Styall, in Pownall Fee township. A letter to him from Phineas Pemberton dated 5 mo. 3, 1682, requesting him to come to the funeral of the latter's dau. Ann, is addressed, "Thomas Janney, Shadow Moss, Cheshire." This

was near the village of Styall, in the district of the same name. (Oliver Hough's address on Thomas Janney in *Doylestown Democrat*, July 29, 1897). He appears to have purchased 6 mo. 12, 1682, a tract of 250 acres of land in Penna., and his father having died 12 mo. 1677, his mother 12 mo. 1681-2, and James Harrison and William Yardley his wife's brothers-in-law, having removed to Penna., where Harrison acted as Penn's agent, Thomas and Margery Janney and their four sons, and two servants left Cheshire in 1683, and arrived in the Delaware River 7 mo. (Sept.) 29, 1683, (*Pa. Mag. Hist. and Biog.* Vols. VIII, p. 330, IX, p. 226), and settled in Bucks County, where he became a prominent man, and later a Provincial Councillor, 1683-86, (*Pa. Archives* 2d ser. Vol IX, p. 624). All of his sons married in America and had children. Thomas and Margery had the following named six children, viz: (i) Jacob, b. Pownall Fee, 3 mo. 18, 1662, bur. Penna. 8 mo. 6, 1708, m. Falls Mtg., 10 mo. 26, 1705, Mary Hough, dau. John and Hannah; (ii) Martha, b. Cheadle, 5 mo. 17, 1665, d. Cheadle Holme 12 mo. 4, 1665-6; (iii) Elizabeth, b. Pownall Fee, 11 mo. 15, 1666-7, d. there 11 mo. 17, 1666-7; (iv) Thomas, b. Pownall Fee 12 mo. 5, 1667-8, m. Penna. 9 mo. 1697 (authorized by Falls Mo. Mtg. 9 mo. 3, 1697), Rachel Pownall, dau. George and Eleanor; (v) Abel, b. Mobberley, 10 mo. 29, 1671, m. N. J. 1 mo. 1700 (authorized by Chesterfield Mo. Mtg. 1 mo. 7, 1700), Elizabeth Stacy, dau., Mahlon and Rebecca (For pedigree of Mahlon Stacy see Hunter's *Hallamshire*, p. 488); (vi) Joseph, b. Pownall Fee, 1 mo. 26, 1675-6, d. Penna. 1728, or 1729, m. Falls Mtg., 6 mo. 18, 1703, Rebeckah Biles, dau. William and Joanna. (For account of Wm. Biles, see *Pa. Mag. Hist. and Biog.* Vol. XXVI, pp. 58, 192, 348).

In 3d. mo., 1695, he and Griffith Owen went to England on a religious visit, he traveled through England and Wales and was taken quite ill, in Spring of 1696 he reached London, but the air did not agree with him, and he started for Cheshire, which place he reached after having been very ill at Hitchin in Hertfordshire, for a considerable time. In 11 mo. 1696, he made his arrangements to return to America in the Spring of 1697, but before his ship sailed his distemper returned, and after having been in England about eighteen months he died at his sister's house, 12 mo. (Feby.) 12, 1696-7, in much quietness of mind, and was buried the 15th at Mobberley. (For extended accounts of him see *The Friend*, Vols. XIX, p. 38, XXVII, pp. 340, 348, 356; Janney's *History of Friends*, Vols. II, III; *Doylestown Democrat* July 29, 1897; *Penna. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 212-237). The marriage record of Thomas Janney and Margery Heath does not state who her parents were, and I do not know anything about them, except that three of their daughters married Friends, who removed to Penna. and were prominent there in religious and civil matters.^{30a} James

^{30a}. Bennett Blakeway, Vicar of Horton, informs me that the earliest Register of that Parish in his possession begins in 1653, and that he is not aware of any previous records being in existence, and thinks there are none. In this Register are various entries concerning the Heath family, including the burial of Anne Heath in January, 1660; the baptism of Ann Heath 2 April, 1667; and the burial of Margaret Heath 24 September, 1679. These were probably members of the same family as Thomas Janney's wife.

Hubert C. Hodson, Registrar of the Diocesan Registry, Litchfield, states that the earliest Horton Transcript deposited there is dated 1673,

Harrison *m.* Anne Heath, 5 mo. 1, 1655, in Cheshire, and William Yeardley *m.* Jane Heath, — mo. 30, 1663, in Staffordshire. Horton is in the Parish of Leek, in Staffordshire, about 25 miles from Styall, and in the same Quarterly Meeting. The Cheshire and Staffordshire Heaths were probably of the same family, but in Staffordshire the family appears to have been more numerous and widely scattered. Besse states that in Staffordshire in 1669 and 1682 William Heath and Jane Heath were respectively arrested and fined for attending a Friends Meeting and Funeral, (*Sufferings*, Vol. I, pp. 652, 654). They were probably related to Margery as was also Andrew Heath, who accompanied Wm. Yardley to Penna. in 1682. Robert and Richard Heath were early settlers in Penna., but I do not know that they were her relatives. It is shown in the "Calendar of Wills and Administrations in the Consistory Court of the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry," 1516-1652, that during those years about 100 Heath Wills were probated at Lichfield, but as after 1561, the residences of testators are not given, it is impossible to tell, from the list, which ones lived near Horton. In the *Collections for a History of Staffordshire* (Vols. VII, X, XI, XIII, XV, XVI, XVII) published by Wm. Salt Archaeological Society, are numerous items in regard to the Heaths, dating from very early times, and John Sleigh in *A History of the Ancient Parish of Leek in Staffordshire*, speaks of the Heaths of Horton as early as 1484. Horton was also the home of the Moorland Poet, George Heath, who was born at Gratton, March 9, 1844, but I do not know that he was a descendant of Margery Heath's immediate family.

6. Henry, *bapt.* Jany. 1, 1637, *d.* Eaton Norris, 6 mo. 3, 1690, *bur.* at Mobberley, *m.* at Thomas Pott's house, Pownall Fee, 1 mo. 3, 1674-5, Barbara Baguley of Stockport. In 1570, a William Baguley was Mayor of Stockport, and in the Register of St. Mary's Parish, Stockport, from 1585 and after, there are numerous entries of the Baguley family, and it is stated that George Bagully was Church warden Jany., 1616-17, when the Steeple was built and the church repaired. There are also numerous Baguley Wills preserved at Chester.

In the record of his marriage Henry Janney is described as a Tailor, and in his widow's renunciation of Administration upon his estate, she styles him Chapman. He seems to have moved several times; when married in 1674, he is said to be of Pownall Fee; in 1677, he lived at Stockport; in 1680 and 1683, he was living at Adswood; and in 1685 he had removed to Eaton Norres¹¹, in Lancaster, where he died 6 mo. 3, 1690, and was buried at Mobberley on the 6th. When his widow died is not shown in Friends' Records, but probably before 1698. He was appointed on several committees by the Mo. Mtg. and was one of the Executors of his father's will. After his death his three surviving daughters removed to Penna. where they married. Among the Wills and Administrations preserved at Chester is the following Petition, the seal upon which is of

¹¹ The proper spelling is probably Heaton Norris, though in early records the form in text is usual.

black wax into which are impressed the letters "H. I.," Henry Janney's seal having probably been used by his widow.

"To all xtian people to whom these presents shall or may appertaine or belong BARBARA JANNEY, Widow Relict of HENRY JANNEY, late of Heaton Norris, in the Countye of Lancaster, Chapman, deceased, sends greeting in our Lord God everlasting. Whereas the said Henry Janney my late husband is lately deceased intestate at Heaton Norres not havein^g made in his life time any Will or disposeall of his goods or personall estate whereby the administracon of the said deced^ts goods & p^rsonall estate ought of right as is conceived to bee committed to me these are therefore to certify all whom it may concerne that I am willing & consent and doe make it my humble request that administracon of the goods rights creditts and other the personall estate of the said Henry Janney my sayd late husband may be granted unto my trusty freind Randle Janney of Ardwicke in the said Countye of Lancaster in trust for the benefit of me the said Barbara. In Witness whereof I have hereunto sette my hand & seale the twelfth day of September Ano RR^a et Rne Willi et Marie Anglie &c scd^o Anoq Dni 1690

BARBARA JANNEY [H. I.]

Sealed and delivered in the p^rsence of

JOHN BOREDMON

JOHN HALLE

The Inventory of his personal estate made by Richard Yearwood, Ralph Brock, William Janney, Randle Janney and Thomas Benison, amounted to £576, 13s., 01 d. and showed that he was engaged in the button trade and also owned considerable "cattell, corne and hay." He had five children, viz: (i) Elizabeth, b. Stockport 9 mo. 7, 1677, d. Phila., 3 mo. 10, 1728, m. there 2 mo. 16, 1710, Pentecost Teague^a son of William, of Marazian, Cornwall, d. Phila., 1719. They had no children. The Wills of both of them are recorded in Phila., where he was a prominent merchant and office holder. She took a certificate from Morley Mo. Mtg., dated 2 mo. 6, 1698, which is preserved among records of Phila. Mo. Mtg. An account of her will be found in *The Friend*, (Vol. XXIX, p. 252). (ii) Mary, b. Adswood, 11 mo. 1, 1680-81, said to have d. Mch. 17, 1764, and to have m. Phila. 7 mo 9, 1708 (authorized by Phila. Mo. Mtg., 6 mo. 27, 1708), Joseph Drinker, who d. Aug. 17, 1742. She probably settled in Bucks Co. upon arrival in America; and in 1704 requested a certificate from Falls Mo. Mtg. The Drinker genealogy states she was b. at Quarry Bank, near Stockport. They had at least four children as shown in Joseph's will. For an account of her descendants see *The Drinker Family in America*, by Henry Drinker Biddle, Phila., 1893.

(iii) Martha, b. Adswood, 8 mo. 21, 1683, d. 12 mo. 11, 1684-85. (iv) Thomas, b. Eaton Norres, 1 mo. 1, 1685-6, d. there 8 mo. 2, 1686. (v) Taby or Tabitha, b. Eaton Norres, 7 mo. 29, 1687, m. Phila., 1709, (authorized by Phila. Mo. Mtg. 2 mo. 29, 1709,) William Fisher, who d. 6 mo., 1734. His will mentions two sons, William and Thomas, the former of whom was Mayor of Phila. in 1773.

^aA certificate was received 5 mo. 27, 1694 by Phila. Mo. Mtg. for Pentecost Teague and wife, "he being Capable of ye trade or Occupation of ffishery," from Mo. Mtg. at Marazion in Cornwall, England, dated 1 mo. 5, 1693-4. Jane Teague, wife of Pentecost, d. 9 mo. 21, 1708.

IV. Randle Janney, the second son of Randle and Ellen (Alrodd) Janney, was *bapt.* May 26, 1608, married Anne Knevet July 16, 1636, and lived at Handforth. It does not appear that he joined Friends; whether his wife was the Anne who in 1663 suffered distress of goods for tithes I do not know. If she was, it is probably her death that is recorded in Friends' Records as having taken place 12 mo. 28, 1698-9, when she is said to have lived at Etchells, probably with her daughter, Mary Bancroft, and her husband had probably predeceased her. When Randle died does not appear, no will being now, if ever, in existence. The will of Ann Janney, of Ashton under Lyne, was proven in 1676, but there is no external evidence to lead to the supposition that it was the will of Randle's wife. Nothing more is known of Randle and Anne than that they had at least two children, both of whom became Friends. They were as follows:

CHILDREN:²²

1. Mary *bapt.* Jany. 6, 1639, *d.* 1 mo. 5, 1706-7, *bur.* Stockport, *m.* at James Harrison's house, Pownall Fee, 7 mo. 6, 1663, John Bancroft, of Etchells, *d.* 12 mo. 25, 1699, *bur.* Mobberley. He was at time of his death aged about 66, and had been a minister forty years. What relation, if any, he was to Henry Bancroft, Mayor of Stockport in 1669, does not appear. Mary and John had the following seven children, viz: (i) Jacob, *b.* 7 mo. 13, 1664; (ii) David, *b.* 10 mo. 9, 1666, *bur.* 12 mo. 3, 1687; (iii) Dinah, *b.* 12 mo. 8, 1668; (iv) Joseph, *b.* 6 mo. 4, 1671, *d.* 1 mo. 26, 1675; (v) Mary, *b.* 5 mo. 13, 1673; (vi) Sarah, *b.* 3 mo. 25, 1677, *d.* 2 mo. 3, 1681; (vii) John, *b.* 3 mo. 1, 1682. One of their descendants informs me that their daughter "Mary Bancroft, *b.* 5 mo. 13, 1673, married Samuel Heald, 2 mo. 16, 1691, and came to America and settled in Pennsylvania. They were ancestors of all the Heald family in that State. Another child, Jacob Bancroft, *b.* 7 mo. 13, 1664, was the ancestor of Joseph Bancroft, who, in 1824, moved from Manchester, England, to Wilmington, Del., where he married Sarah Poole, a descendant of Abel Janney, the son of Thomas and Margery."

The "Index to the Wills and Inventories now preserved in Court of Probate at Chester," mentions the following, "John Bancroft of Cheadle, Carpenter, Admon. with Inv. 1696. Mary Bancroft, minor of Heaton Norris, Tuition 1700." If John Bancroft, who died in

²² Dates of baptisms are taken from Registers of Wilmslow Parish; dates of births, deaths, marriages and burials from Friends' Records.

1699, made a will, it is not preserved, but the tuition account may, possibly, have been filed by his widow, though their daughter, Mary was not a minor at that time. The Stockport Registers contain entries in regard to many Bancrofts, among them is one stating that Mch. 8, 1610, was bapt. "Robert sonne of William Bancroft of Echills." Earwaker states that among the "freeholders in Cheadle Parish in 1671" were William Bancroft, gen., Robt. Bancroft, gen., James Harrison, gen., and Robt. Sidebottom, gen. (*East Cheshire*, Vol. I, p. 184).

2. William, bapt. Dec. 8, 1641, d. 8 mo. 4, 1724, bur. Mobberley, m. at Thomas Taylor's house, Stafford, 7 mo. 30, 1671, Deborah Webb, of Inkstrey, Staffordshire, who d. 5 mo. 20, 1701, aged abt. 54, bur. at Mobberley. He is described in his marriage record as yeoman, he then lived at Handforth, but after his wife's death appears to have removed to Morley, where he died, aged about 86, according to Friends' Records, which would place his birth about 1639, at least two years prior to his baptism. Neither he nor his wife appear to have made wills, or at least none are now preserved. Oliver Hough in his article on Thomas Janney, (*Doylestown Democrat*, July 29, 1897), supposes that William was the son of Randle's brother Thomas, but he had not seen the will of Thomas Janney nor the Wilmslow Registers, which make it evident that he was the son of Randle, as I have stated. He was a prominent member of the Society of Friends, at whose house meetings were frequently held; was appointed by the Monthly Meeting to perform sundry services; he suffered persecution and was sent to gaol for conscience sake, as related by Besse. His son Randle, whose name in America appears as Randall, speaks of him in his will as "my dear and tender Father." He had seven children, all of whom were born at Handforth. I have seen no further mention of Joseph, Anne, and William, and as they are not mentioned in the will of their brother Randle, they probably died before 1715. William's children were as follows: (i) Joseph, b. 7 mo. 7, 1672; (ii) Anne, b. 7 mo. 3, 1674; (iii) Randle, b. 2 mo. 10, 1677, d. Phila. 10 mo. 7, 1715, m. there 9 mo., 1701, (authorized by Phila. Mo. Mtg., 8 mo. 31, 1701), Frances Righton who d. 4 mo. 17, 1714; they had one son, William, b. 1 mo. 27, 1704, d. 3 mo. 25, 1704. In 1699 Randle obtained of Morley Mo. Mtg. a certificate of removal, which is now preserved in records of Phila. Mo. Mtg. Soon after coming to America he settled in Philadelphia and became a wealthy merchant; in 1702 and 1706 he visited England, and 7 mo. 30, 1715, asked for a certificate of removal to Bermudas, but died before going there. He is mentioned several times in the correspondence between Penn and Logan, and was a large land owner in Pennsylvania, some of his lands being in the territory in dispute between Penn and Lord Baltimore, and which was finally decided to be in Cecil Co., Md. His will dated 1st December, 1715, was proven 8th of same month, (Phila. Wills, *Liber D*, fol. 39), in it he mentions his father; his brother, Thomas; and his sister, Mary Pawley, wife of George Pawley, and her children, Debora, Mary, Sarah and Thomas; and various of his wife's relatives. His wife was a dau. of William and Sarah Righton, and her father's will was probated in Philadelphia, Oct. 24, 1710. The Righton family was one of considerable wealth and social prominence in early Philadelphia, and was

connected by marriage with many of the leading families of the Province, and appears to have come to Philadelphia from Barbadoes, where William Righton was a man of position and influence, and a Member of Assembly, 1673, (*Calendar of State Papers—America and West Indies*).

(iv) Thomas, b. 3 mo. 18, 1679, d., Cecil Co., Md., about 1750, m. Magdalen —, who survived him. Thomas removed to America prior to 1702, in which year his brother, Randle, obtained for him a certificate from Morley Mo. Mtg., which is to be found among the records of Phila. Mo. Mtg. In 1706, he visited England, with his brother, after which the records of Phila. Mo. Mtg. do not mention him. In 1719 his name appears among the taxables of West Nottingham, Chester Co., Pa., and after the establishment of Nottingham Mo. Mtg. in 1730, he is shown to have been on various occasions appointed on Committees. Both he and his wife signed various Friends' marriage certificates as witnesses, but no record of her maiden name has been seen, and the date and place of their marriage is unknown. He lived in Cecil Co., Md., and four of his children are mentioned in the records of Nottingham Mo. Mtg. His will was dated 4 mo. 7, 1750, and proven Mch. 22, 1750-51, (Cecil Co., Wills *Liber BB No. 2, fol. 99*). In it he mentions his wife, Magdalen, his son-in-law, Robert Lashly, and the following five children: Jemima Janney; Deborah Lashly; William, Thomas and Isaac Janney. If he had had other children, they probably predeceased him. Deborah Janney married about 1740 Robert Leslie, and was an ancestress of Charles Robert Leslie, R. A., (See *Publications So. Hist. Asso.*, Vol. V, p. 496), and her brothers all married and were the progenitors of the Janney family of Cecil Co., Md.; Johnston's *History of Cecil Co., Md.*, (p. 148 n) erroneously tracing them from Thomas Janney's brother Randall.

(v) Mary, b. 6 mo. 17, 1681, d. Phila. Pa., 2 mo. 7, 1718, m. George Pawley, bur. Phila. Pa., 10 mo. 1, 1721, and had, at least, four children, who are mentioned in the will of her brother, Randall, and two of whom are known to have married, viz: Deborah Pawley m. First Presby. Church, Phila., 9 mo. 21, 1727, Samuel Sidden, (*Pa. Arch.* 2d ser., Vol. IX, p. 54); and Sarah Pawley m. 7 mo. 24, 1734. Phila. Mo. Mtg., William Atkinson, Jr., of Phila., whose will was proven 1794. Mr. Oliver Hough has in preparation for *Penna. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, an account of this Atkinson family.

(vi) William, b. 3 mo. 31, 1683, probably d. prior to 1715.

(vii) Elizabeth, d. 5 mo. 11, 1701, aged about 16, bur. at Mobberley.

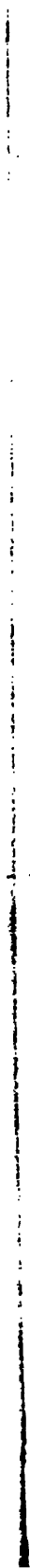
As hereinbefore stated, several of the Quaker Janneys of Cheshire removed to America and settled in Pennsylvania. Here they and their children became prominent among the early colonists in both religious and civil affairs. In later days their descendants became very numerous, and resided principally in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and Ohio, and some of them became quite noted, among whom might

be mentioned Thomas Janney, lieutenant in Continental Line, 3rd Pa. Battalion, captured by British in 1776; Phineas Janney, the wine merchant of Alexandria and friend of Henry Clay; his nephew, Samuel M. Janney, the Quaker preacher and historian; John Janney³⁴, who as president of the Virginia Convention, used his best endeavors to prevent his State from seceding from the Union, and as a delegate to the Whig Convention at Harrisburg advocated the nomination of Henry Clay for the Presidency; Charles Robert Leslie, R. A., the noted author and artist, and his talented sisters; Johns Hopkins, the founder of the University and Hospital bearing his name in Baltimore; Israel Gregg, captain of Fulton's first boat, the "Clermont," on the Ohio river; Emerson Hough, author and magazine writer; and Bellamy Storer, formerly Minister to Belgium, afterwards Minister to Spain, and now Ambassador to Austria-Hungary. Among those who married Janney descendants may be mentioned Joel Parker, War Governor of New Jersey, 1863-1866, who furnished Gov. Curtin several organized volunteer regiments that were used for the protection of Pennsylvania during Lee's invasion of that State in 1863;³⁵ and Howard Pyle, artist and magazine writer.

³⁴To a lady who had tired her hearers by a lengthy discourse upon the antiquity and importance of her family, and showed no sign of changing the subject, Mr. John Janney is reported to have humorously said that her family could not compare with his in these respects, for the Janneys dated back to about 1500 B. C., and were of sufficient importance to be mentioned in the Bible, St. Paul stating that the Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses! [2 Timothy iii. 8].

³⁵See *The Drinker Family in America*, p. 27; Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol. IV, p. 652; Lamb's *Biographical Dictionary of the United States*, Vol. VI, p. 136.

(Concluded.)



1

RECONSTRUCTION DOCUMENTS.

A NORTHERN MAN'S CRITICISMS OF A SENATOR DURING THE EARLY STAGES OF THE CIVIL WAR.

A LETTER TO SENATOR J. R. DOOLITTLE FROM JUDGE DAVID NOGGLE.

[The author of the subjoined letter was, at the date of its writing, a judge of one of the circuit courts of Wisconsin, next to the highest court of record in the State, the Supreme Court being the court of last resort. One of his brethren of the Wisconsin bar has said of him: "His lack of educational advantages and professional training did not embarrass him; the strong power of his will being adequate to overcome slight obstacles, and if his orthography was not always correct, it conformed to phonographic modes, and always had the advantage of *idem sonans*. He was a powerful and successful advocate before a jury, and by large experience and hard study he became a very good lawyer."

The letter is thoroughly characteristic of its author. The views which he presents and the arguments which he adduces, were entertained by many another Northern man at the time indicated. There was then a wide-spread feeling of unrest and discontent in the North, as a result of the defeat at the first battle of Bull Run, at what was thought to be the too easy and conciliatory methods of the administration in dealing with the seceding South.

This letter was found among Mr. Doolittle's private papers. There is no note or memorandum to indicate that it was ever answered.
—DUANE MOWRY, 204 Grand Ave., Milwaukee, Wis.]

NOGGLE TO DOOLITTLE.

Green Bay, May 30th, 1862.

Dear Judge:

Your letter answering my grumbling note (for such you evidently consider it) reached me at Kenosha. I was then under an engagement for this place to hold the Circuit Court here, Judge Wheeler having engaged to hold my June term in Janesville. I would not waste your time, or trouble you with a reply, were it not for the mistakes you are laboring under, as it seems to me.

You say "the men and all the men who criticise me would trample under their feet all the rights of States to legislate for themselves upon the relation of master and apprentice, master and slave, &c. It is only by military necessity that we can take slaves. They would cease to be States altogether if these men had their way."

Do you mean such men as Sumner, Willson, Harlan, Grimes, Howard and Trumbull? If you do, Judge, you are condemning a host of the genuine favorites of the people, and, in my opinion, the true friends of the country.

You say "the rebellion will be crushed out soon, or so nearly crushed as to be easily handled, and the tremendous effort to consolidate and concentrate all legislative power in this government will be an overshadowing danger."

But you can't believe for one moment that such is the design of Sumner, Trumbull or any other ultra-Republican? On the contrary, you know that such is the secret design of democrats, neutrals and conservatives.

Again, you say "as to the district bill, I was outrageously misrepresented by some of the press, and the cowardly manner in which it was done by some is simply contemptible. The truth is that my amend, so far from delaying the bill, saved the bill and carried it through. As to the question of colonization, it is the most practical idea to aid emancipation. I stand with the Republican party. I stand with the president. The men who denounce him are weakening his hands, and the result of it all is to unite back into power the Democratic party. Unless our people have sense enough to rally around him and sustain his policy, these croakers, who, next to the thieves, are doing most against the administration, who are natural fault-finders, have trained so long in the minority they do not know how to support a majority. The Republican party will be overthrown, and the Democratic party will come into power as matter of course. You

“speak of Senator Collamer in terms such as I know you would not if you knew him.”

I cannot, of course, expect to do anything like justice to your various suggestions; but I do feel that it is due to you to make at least a brief attempt to correct some of the errors you seem to fall into. And first, allow me to say in all candor, that you never made a greater mistake than you do in designating those who now criticise your course. I can assure you they are not your enemies, or the indifferent Republicans; but on the contrary they are the uncompromising ultra-Republicans everywhere that I go in the state that are, not, perhaps, criticising the speeches you are reported as making, or your reported votes upon abolishing slavery and confiscating property, but such friends and such Republicans as are mourning and chopfallen over the speeches which you did make, while such Union-loving and freedom-shrieking sheets as the *Milwaukee News*, *Madison Patriot* and *La Crosse Democrat*, and the forty democracy generally seem highly delighted with what they term your conservatism; these are speaking facts which prove themselves here at home, and facts that ought to reach your good judgment. As a friend of yours, I must say that it was extremely unfortunate for you that you happened to fall into the error of repeating on the Senate floor that contemptible stale old story improperly credited to Collamer; which, coming as it did from you, only added to the bitterness of its sarcasm upon the Republican party. How could you so far adapt the withering falsehood of our opponents as to give prominence and respectability to their foul charges by repeating that most miserable and disgraceful of all falsehoods, thereby adapting and promulgating it as your senatorial sentiments? You certainly know there is not a word of truth in the suggestion of that story. With all due deference to your wild notions of colonization, I think you can't but believe that by abolishing slavery in the Southern States, the North-

ern States would be speedily cleared of their present free colored population, and thus would be ended the trouble of Collamer's Vermont plug. You must bear with your friends should they decline to tolerate in you that which they might in Wigfal or Valandigham. I can't believe that you considered for a single moment the volumes of bitter, scathing, sarcastic abuse that you unmercifully showered down upon the heads of earnest and honest Republicans, who in any way favor emancipation, when you repeated that story, based on falsehood, of course.

If in this I am mistaken, and if you have thoroughly considered it, you certainly cannot be a friend of the Republican cause, as I understand it. But, if in telling the story, your object was merely for a little fun, then, of course, you meant no slur by it; but after all, the U. S. Senate is a mighty bad place to indulge in unmeaning sport in making speeches.

You say "it is only by military necessity that we can take slaves." I am aware that this is the seed that has produced months of worthless discussion, wasting the money and destroying the lives of the people of this government, and I am aware that this is the great humbug of opposition to Trumbull's bill, and it is what brought forth Collamer's wonderful crop of shallow sophistry against Trumbull's bill. Of its kind, Collamer's speech is able, ingenious, unmeaning and deceptive. It commences, proceeds and concludes in sophistry and fallacy. Trumbull's speech and bill are both certain, positive, direct and correct beyond a doubt, in principle, and certainly, in policy. Collamer concludes by introducing a substitute that, like Seward's speeches, may mean something and may not. The substitute, however, proves most conclusively that Trumbull is right, and that his bill should become a law at once, because, if Congress has the power to enact the 4th, 6th, and 7th sections of Collamer's substitute, then clearly it has the power to enact T's bill. If Congress can say that the slave of a rebel shall be free, if the

rebel is in arms the length of time to be fixed by the President, then, by the same power, Congress can say that the slaves of all rebels shall be free, if the rebel does not lay down his arms within 60 days after Trumbull's bill becomes a law; and if Congress can say that the owner of a slave in South Carolina, in an action to recover such slave under the laws of that State, "shall in the first instance and as preliminary to the trial of such claim show satisfactorily. that he, during the period of the insurrection or rebellion was loyal to the United States," most assuredly Congress has the power to declare rebels outlaws forever, and to say that all such rebels shall be forever barred from any and all right to claim the service of any man or person as an apprentice, slave or otherwise. These two suggestions disposes of the whole of Collamer's great furor about confiscation. You must not think hard if the people do become impatient with the outrageous waste of time and money in Congress, and with the faint-hearted tardiness of Republicans in doing that which must be done to save our country, and when done will save thousands of valuable lives. Now, with all Collamer's ability, and I do think him an able and highly respectable man, there is more sound sense and good law in Trumbull's bill and in his speech, than in all that has been said against either, and his measure is the true policy, and ought to have been adopted as early as the extra session, instead of fooling away the time catering to Kentucky traitors and making speeches for electioneering purposes. Its delay has made hundreds of thousands of widows, orphans and cripples, and has added hundreds of millions to the expense of this war, and the rebellion never will end until that or some stronger policy is adopted. Banks seems to be just about where he was nearly a year ago without any fault of his, simply the fruits of the glorious old facile Whig policy. With 5,000 armed negroes added to his army, which he would have had, if permitted, he might have driven

Jackson and his hordes from Virginia. As to what you say about colonization, let that pass. I do not agree with you, but if there are many of Collamer's Vermont plug-heads in the United States, who so much fear that they will be overrun by the negroes, it is, perhaps, better to feed their ignorance on whey, than to try to whip it out of them. But my Democracy has always taught me that the labor of the country is its real and legitimate capital. And were I in your place I should favor the appropriation of two dollars to educate and aid the negroes to live on and cultivate the Southern soil, for one dollar that I would appropriate to forward Frank Blair's useless scheme of sending the negroes out of the country. I say first make them free men and then like other free men, let them do as they prefer and go where they please. They have just as much right to these God-given natural rights as we have. If we can induce them to stay in the Southern States and dig out of that earth the wealth that is in it and that which cannot well be dug out by white men, it will be well in the sight of God and for humanity. If they still prefer to leave the United States and settle together elsewhere as one people, I would submit and aid them in so doing, so far as reasonable. Thank God the District of Columbia and Maryland at last furnish reliable evidence that free blacks can be endured and that they are not behind the whites in being able to live and take care of themselves, even in slave States. Thus the necessity for colonization is fully disposed of.

I think you are mistaken when you say that the men who denounce the President weaken his hands. He is not denounced by his friends or by Republicans, so far as I know. I think I can say that everywhere Republicans have the most unbounded confidence in his honesty and integrity, but nearly all true men would be glad if the President as well as Congress would strike rebellion with a little more force and not get frightened at every little move made in the right di-

rection by Fremont or Hunter, and in the fright kick over the dish to please the neutrals of Kentucky and Virginia. Notwithstanding, the President never was quite a Republican, as his contest with Douglas plainly shows, yet he would do first rate if you, Judge Harris, Sherman and a few more who ought to be Republicans, dyed in the wool, would take a bold stand for the right and insist upon it. I think we have great reason to thank God that we have so good a President. All will yet come out right; but it is painful when we think how many lives and how much money it is costing to lash out cowardice and courage into the people's servants. I must close without doing half justice to this subject.

Very respectfully yours,
DAVID NOGGLE.

THE WORD "TOTE."

BY THOS. L. BROUN, CHARLESTON, W. VA.

We give below the use and meaning of this word as stated in several dictionaries:

FROM WORCESTER'S DICTIONARY, "Tote" means to carry, to bear, to lead; also to sum up.

It is a provincial, local and negro word, perhaps from the Latin *tollo*, to lift up, to raise. Or from the Anglo-Saxon, *Totian*, to lift up, to raise. See *tolt*.

A colloquial word, used in the Southern States. Witherspoon. It is strictly a negro word and used primarily in the sense of to bear or carry on the head.—Dr. B. Lindsley.

I have frequently heard a negro inquire: "Shall I *tote* this horse to water?"—Pishey Thompson.

I have frequently heard in Lincolnshire and England the phrase—Come tote it up and tell me what it comes to.—Pishey Thompson.

Tolt; Latin *tollo* to remove. A writ, old English practice, by which a cause pending in a Court Baron was removed to the County Court.

Tote and *Tolt*; same derivation from Latin *tollo* or Anglo-Saxon *totian*.

FROM THE STANDARD DICTIONARY:

Tote: Colloquial, Southern United States.

1. To carry or bear on the person as a burden, as to tote in fire-wood.

2. In lumber camps; to haul supplies from the depot.

3. In arithmetic, to carry, as to put down seven and tote one.

Tote—load. The amount that one can carry.

Tote—road. A path for carriers, later and more specially a temporary rough road, along which supplies and materials may be carried for some special purpose.

Tote—team. A team kept specially for toting.

Tote—teamster. A toter.

Tote—wagon.

To tote fair. To act honestly; used in Southern and Western United States.

Tolt. A writ or proceeding to remove a suit from the Court Baron to the County Court.

Tolt; from *tollo*, *tolta*; to take away; remove, as to *tolt* a writ.

FROM WEBSTER'S DICTIONARY:

Tote; said to be of African origin; to carry or bear, as to tote a child over a stream. A colloquial word of the Southern United States, used especially by the negroes.

FROM THE CENTURY DICTIONARY:

Tote, to carry or bear, especially in the arms, on the shoulders or on the back, as a burden or load.

Southern United States, colloquial word or provincial. Also in humorous use in the North and West.

Said to be an African word introduced by Southern negroes.

I have frequently heard in Lincolnshire the phrase, "Come *tote* it up and tell me what it comes to."

Origin unknown. Usually said to be an African word introduced by Southern negroes, but the African words which have come into use through Southern negroes are few and doubtful and do not include verbs.

Now I should like to know how much a man can *tote*, how much a woman can *tote*, and how long a time without resting the *toting* may go on.

The bullies used to maltreat the weaker ones, make them *tote* more than their share of the logs, pound them and beat them, and worry them every way on earth.

Tote fair is to act or deal fairly; be honest. Is used in Southern and Western United States.

Tote load. As much as one can *tote* or carry.

Toter. A fish, same as hog-sucker.

Tote-road. A road over which anything is carried.

Its forests are still so unbroken by any highway, save the streams and the rough *tote-roads* of the lumber crews, that this region can not become populous with visitors.

Tolt. In old English law, a writ whereby a cause depending in a Court Baron was removed into a County Court.

We give above the origin, derivation and definition of the word "tote" as contained in Worcester's Dictionary, the Standard Dictionary, Webster's Dictionary and the Century Dictionary.

It is evidently not a provincial and negro word, nor is it of African origin, as stated in Webster's Dictionary.

Its derivation is from the Latin word *tollo*, or from the Anglo-Saxon *totian*.

Tote and *Tolt* have the same derivation, so Worcester states. *Tolt*, is an old English writ whereby a suit in a lower Court was removed to a higher Court. That is to say, it was "taken up," which expression "taken up" is used now very generally in the same sense. When a writ of error or an appeal is obtained from a decision in a lower Court and removed to a higher Court, the suit is said to be "taken up."

The Latin verb "*tollo*" means to lift or take up, with the predominant idea of motion upwards and of removal from a former situation, and that is what the verb *tote* means. See Harper's Latin Dictionary.

Very few words, if any, have been introduced into the English language through Southern negroes, certainly no verb, and *tote* is a verb, so states the Century Dictionary.

In the mountain streams of Virginia, near the Blue Ridge, there is a small fish called a *stone-toter*. This fish, in the spawn season, will tote in its mouth stone pebbles and small stones and deposit them in a circular shape, wherein it lays its eggs. It is said that Thomas Jefferson gave this fish the name of "*stone-toter*."

In a recent address by Gov. Aycock, of North Carolina, before a meeting in Baltimore, he used the word *tote* in a very expressive sense. In speaking of the vexed question of the Negro's Future he said: "Let every negro *tote* his own skillet." The Richmond (Va.) Times Dispatch mentioned lately that a very high wind in New York City had elevated the coat tail of President Roosevelt so as to show that he had a pistol in his hip-pocket, and then added that, it seems our President has become a *pistol-toter*.

The Standard Dictionary gives different uses of the word *tote*:

- (1) To take up and carry in the hands, arms or otherwise.
- (2) In lumber camps.
- (3) In arithmetic.

Tote in its ordinary and every day use means what a person can take up with his hand, and can remove from one place to another, either with his hands alone, or with his hands and arms or with his hands and shoulders, or with his hands and on his back, or with his hands and on his head.

REVIEWS.

WRITINGS ON AMERICAN HISTORY, 1902. By Ernest Cushing Richardson and Anson Ely Morse, Princeton, N. J. The Library Book Store, 1904. (Size, $10\frac{1}{8}$ x $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.) pp. XXI. + 294, cloth.

With the development of the country, with the accumulation of historical sources now being published and made accessible for the first time, with the increase in the number of investigators extended over a wide expanse of territory and conducting independent studies the necessity for a clearing house for the annual historical output becomes more and more evident. Historical studies are so numerous that few men, except those connected with great libraries can even hope to grasp unaided the literature of any particular field.

In their Writings on American History, 1902, Dr. Richardson and Mr. Morse have attempted "an exhaustive bibliography of books and articles on United States history published during the year 1902 and some memoranda of other portions of America." The whole is arranged alphabetically under subjects or immediate title, no effort being made to bring together the writings of a particular individual. This method is not always successful as the title sometimes hides the subject as is the case under Wm. E. Peters where "refused to burn it" refers to the burning of Chambersburg, Pa., yet no cross reference is found under Pennsylvania or Chambersburg or under Civil War, all of which mean that to be of the greatest use such entries as the above must be closely analyzed. In fact the writer has found this lack of analysis to be the most serious drawback to Poole's *Index*. He must hunt through the whole volume to find the whole of what is wanted. In the present

case this is in part obviated by a tentative "classified index" at the end which gathers from the body of the text various subject entries and arranges them under such heads as bibliography, historical writers, geography, the various states, South America, American revolution, Civil War, religion, learning and education, books and literature, etc. But this classified index occupies about 50 pages only and as the compilers admit is tentative.

The plan of the work has been to be inclusive as far as books are concerned; "in the case of articles this is necessarily tempered by a restrained criticism which aims to exclude the too rhetorical and juvenile," but even these are included when there is doubt; the aim is first scholarly "but it tries to be useful to the general student down to the point of essay and debate work in high schools and colleges." In the case of periodicals the degree of thoroughness varies with the periodical and the importance of the item, but here also the editors have leaned toward the side of inclusiveness especially where the notes though short "were a definite contribution for scholarly use."

Under the title periodicals are grouped a list of the principal publications of the day drawn on in the compilation. This list is very inclusive and the critical notes appended lean very much to the side of generous applause for work that is often mediocre or even poor. It seems certainly worthy of consideration whether such journals as the *American Monthly Magazine* deserve any sort of analysis even for college and high school essay and debate work. When these young investigators are seeking the truth why not give it to them in the best form?

In the matter of books the editors have felt the difficulty of their position in the matter of appraisement. The value of such an annual bibliography as this depends largely on the promptness of its appearance and yet the best reviews often do not appear for a year after the book has been pub-

lished. The plan has been followed here of condensing very briefly opinions from what are thought to be authoritative reviews. These moreover are capable of furnishing unlimited amusement for they often diametrically oppose one another.

That the book will be heartily welcomed goes without saying. Its strength lies in its inclusiveness and seeming exhaustiveness; in the dates of birth and death, the biographical, historical or geographical notes that accompany the subject entries, in the general clearness of the subject entries so far as they go although instances like that of Peters mentioned above show the imperative need of some description of such articles as will make intelligent use both rapid and possible.

Its weaknesses are: The lack of a closer analysis of titles and a grouping of these titles under more general headings, like the states; many faults in proofreading. Thus (p. 103) Polit. ec Q. for Polit. Sc. Q. and under Parkman (161 and 246) 1823-33 for 1823-93; p. 91, John Harvel for Harvey; p. 40, Salmond for Salmon P. Chase; p. 73 Schonler for Schouler. These are, no doubt, due to careless proofreading. Many others have crept in during the process of copying the title as where six occur in the two line entry under Macon, beginning Pittman; p. 67 John T. Gouchen for John F. Goucher, etc. It is to be remarked also that little attention is paid to government documents. Thus Dr. Harris's Reports as U. S. Commissioner of Education do not appear under Education, nor do those of the Bureau of Ethnology under Indians.

It is announced that the volume for 1903 will be prepared and published under the auspices of the Bureau of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution. It remains to be seen if it will be as well done. As the writer pleads guilty of the belief that corporate work is not as scholarly as that due to private initiative he doubts it.

WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA; a Biographical Dictionary of notable Living Men and Women of the United States. 1903-1905. Edited by John W. Leonard, Chicago; A. N. Marquis & Co., (Size 8 x 6½ in.) pp. lxi. + 1669+ads. 1671-1744. Cloth, \$3.50.

The first edition of *Who's Who in America* was published in 1899 as a sort of tentative volume. It had 827 pages and 8,602 names; the second appeared in 1901, had 1,300 pages and 11,551 names. The present edition has 1,730 pages and 14,443 names but by the use of finer paper the bulk of the whole is not increased. There are 3,990 new names in this edition which is practically a new book, the great majority of the sketches having been rewritten and brought down to date. Since the first edition 7,691 new names have been added while 1,850 have been dropped including 1,108 persons who have died; more than half of the names in this issue were not in that of 1899.

Who's Who in America has long since established itself as an indispensable reference book. It is full of biographical facts and dates; it wastes no words, does not use words but figures when possible and is more free from padding than any other biographical dictionary with which the writer is acquainted. Its subjects are drawn from all professions. The present edition not being so open to the criticism of being too academic as was the first and to a less degree the second. It has subjects from all positions in life and gives some genealogical facts, the editor naively remarking on the large number who have family trees running back to the Crusaders "or even to the Vikings."

The object of the editor has been to include all persons who are of more than local prominence in their respective lines of effort. It is no doubt true that there have been now and then errors in admitting while the errors of omission are being gradually remedied in the successive editions as is the case in the present with capitalists, manufacturers-

and business men. The proofreading seems to have been very accurately done and errors, considering the vast number of facts and dates, are exceedingly few. The only thing which the writer could seriously criticise is the presence of advertisements. In a book of the dignity of this they seem a blemish.

The editor has prepared various statistics from the biographical material submitted and discusses these in the preliminary pages. Thus it is found that of the total number admitted 69.76% had a collegiate training than which it would be hard to find a more convincing argument for the higher education; the average age of the men admitted is 53 years, of the women, 50 years; of the women nearly 63% are or have been married and of the men more than 93% are in the married class. In the matter of birth New York State is easily first with 2,640; Massachusetts is second with 1,421; Pennsylvania third with 1,278; Ohio, 948; Illinois, 532. Of the old thirteen states New York and New Jersey alone have more in residence than have been born within their borders. The others are still sending their surplus population to the West.

THE IMPEACHMENT AND TRIAL OF ANDREW JOHNSON, Seventeenth President of the United States. A History by David Miller Dewitt, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903. O. pp. iv+646, cloth.

Lord Acton in expressing his opinion on ethical values in history exhorts the historian, in his Cambridge Lecture, "to suffer no man and no cause to escape the undying penalty which history has the power to inflict on wrong."

That the judgment of history is the bitterest penalty to which the actions of men can be subjected; that no man may violate her principles and escape and that no man sustained by the *mens sibi conscia recti* need fear to submit

his cause to her court of final arbitrament is clearly brought out in the study before us.

The Reconstruction of the Southern States is now admitted by all intelligent persons north or south to have been a failure. There are now none so partisan, none so stupid as to do that abortion reverence. The power to make ignorance supreme over intelligence is not attained by statutory enactment. After a generation of struggle the South has come into her own again, the Negro has found his political and intellectual level and it is now possible to look on the political struggles of the *post bellum* period in the cold light of truth, unmoved by partisanship, unswayed by passion.

Such a study is Mr. Dewitt's *Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson*. The whole of the troubles leading up to the impeachment are reviewed including the problem of reconstruction, Johnson's view and the view of Congress; the growing breach between the President and Congress, the use of the veto power and the effort to secure a two-thirds vote in the Senate by the attempted admission of Colorado and Nebraska and the shameful and shameless unseating of Stockton of New Jersey. Then follows an account of Johnson's unfortunate and undignified appeal to the country in which he let himself down to the level of and bandied words with every rowdy that chose to criticise his policy. The tenure of office act is discussed in detail and a chapter is given to Edwin M. Stanton who did so much to draw Johnson on to his fate. Then follow chapters on the defeat of the first impeachment and reinstatement of Stanton, the impeachment, the trial and the acquittal.

There has been perhaps no more dramatic moment in all American history than the roll call for the final vote of the Senate as to the guilt or innocence of the accused. Two thirds was necessary for conviction. The position

of every man was known or had been discounted except Ross of Kansas. He was an absolutely unknown quantity and his vote was needed for the two thirds. The author, with his vivid imagination, his power to grasp the salient points, the picturesque incidents, has used these dramatic moments to very great advantage and has presented a most absorbing and realistic account of the time when the success or failure of the whole reconstruction policy was trembling in the balance. He has also given us most vivid, vigorous, illuminating and convincing pen portraits of some of the impeachment leaders. It would be hard to find in the whole of American historical literature more striking portraits than those here given of Thad. Stevens and Sumner, or colder, more impartial or more judicial characterization of the policies which they advocated.

The work is based almost entirely on official materials, with many extracts, and is supplemented by various papers collected by President Johnson. It is written in a forcible, attractive, style which shows strength and vigor, gives interest, zest and force to the narrative, and is remarkable both for thoroughness of execution and impartiality of judgment.

FOUR YEARS UNDER MARSE ROBERT. By Robert Stiles, Major of Artillery in the Army of Northern Virginia. New York and Washington, The Neale Publishing Company.

The author devotes his first chapter to giving reasons for the rather singular title of his book, and evidently makes a satisfactory defense to himself. The question may be settled by the admission that every author has the inherent right to give such title to his book as he chooses. He says in regard to the scope of the book—"to state clearly and truthfully what he saw and experienced as a private soldier and subordinate officer in the military service of the Confederate States in Virginia from '61 to '65."

"It is not prepared however to give a consecutive recital of all that occurred during these four years, even within the narrow range of the writer's observation and experience, but rather to select and record such incidents arranged of course in a general orderly sequence, as are deemed to be of inherent interest, or to shed light upon the portrait of the Confederate soldier, the personality of prominent actors in the war drama upon the Southern side, the salient points of the great conflict, or the general conditions of life in and behind the Confederate lines."

We must say that the author has kept well within his text.

He gives an interesting ante-war history of himself, tells us something of Vallandigham and Richmond after the John Brown raid and the Whig and Democratic conventions of Virginia in 1860. From the fourth chapter he gets *in medias res*, beginning at the battle of Manassas and going on consecutively to the final surrender at Appomattox. He gives an interesting account of the religious life of Lee's Army.

He has a chapter on the fatal mistake of the Confederate military authorities, and another on losses of the Federal armies and the demoralizing effect of earth works, &c. His last chapter is devoted to an analysis of the soldier life which is very interestingly told.

Altogether Major Stiles has given us a very readable book.

THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Edited by Franklin L. Riley, Secretary. Oxford, Miss. Vol. VII, pp. 531, 8vo., cloth.

Contents 1. Proceedings of the Sixth Annual meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society, by Dr. Franklin L. Riley. 8 pp., lists of names and titles with the address by John S. Williams.

2. The rank and file at Vicksburg, by Col. J. H. Jones.

15 pp., a valuable contribution by a participant who confines himself largely to what he himself knew.

3. A Mississippi brigade in the last days of the Confederacy, by Hon. J. S. McNeilly. 23 pp., his experience is good, his history poor as he does not understand modern method of writing history.

4. Yazoo County in the Civil War, by Judge Robert Bowman. 17 pp., list of companies with some data as to their service, the work of a navy yard there, and account of military operations in the locality; no authorities given, seemingly all from general knowledge.

5. Johnson's division in the Battle of Franklin, by Gen. Stephen D. Lee. 9 pp., based on Rebellion Records and some letters and other sources.

6. Reminiscences of service with the First Mississippi Cavalry, by Prof J. G. Deupree. 16 pp., a very lively, graphic account of what a private saw and experienced, with a sketch of John Henry Miller.

7. Makeshifts of the War between the States, by Miss Mary J. Welsh. 13 pp., a fine source of history in itself as coming from one who knew from personal experience and observation what she writes about.

8. Reconstruction in Yazoo County, by Judge Robert Bowman. 16 pp., a vivid description, largely from his own knowledge, of the carnival of corruption and confusion in that county which was a fair type of nearly the whole section.

9. Life of Col. Felix Labauve, by Dr. P. H. Saunders. 10 pp., born Nov. 16, 1809 in France, died June 12, 1879; came to Mississippi 1835, became a planter, entered state politics, left a fund of some twenty thousand dollars to the state university for scholarships.

10. Life of Greenwood LeFlore, by Mrs. N. D. Deupree. 11 pp., born June 3, 1800, died Aug. 21, 1865, half breed Indian who became chief of the Choctaws and gath-

ered a fortune and left a large number of descendants; very readable sketch but no authorities.

11. Thomas Griffin—a Boanerges of the Early Southwest, by Bishop Chas. B. Galloway. 18 pp., born in Virginia Sept. 24, 1787, died about 1850; a most aggressive Methodist circuit rider after reaching the southwest about 1812; a most interesting sketch based on his diary.

12. Lafayette Rupert Hamberlin, Dramatic Reader and Poet, by Prof. P. H. Eager. 27 pp., born Feb. 25, 1861, died April 24, 1902; a very capable treatment of this poet whose collected works run to six volumes besides a vast quantity of fugitive material; no foot notes, but sources of information given.

13. Recollections of Reconstruction in East and Southeast Mississippi, by Capt. W. H. Hardy. 17 pp., a valuable contribution to knowledge, told from experience.

14. Life of Col. J. F. H. Clairborne, by Dr. Franklin L. Riley. 28 pp., a good sketch, which would be of the highest scientific order if more exact references had been given, though there is a full bibliography.

15. Senatorial career of J. Z. George, by Dr. James W. Garner. 18 pp., study of George as shown in congressional records.

16. Cotton Gin port and Gaine's Trace, by Geo. J. Leftwich, Esq. 8 pp., account of an abandoned town and an old trail; no reference or sources.

17. The cholera in 1849, by Maj. Wm. Dunbar Jenkins. 9 pp., description of progress and treatment; no sources given, though not by a participant.

18. Historic Clinton, by Dr. Charles Hillman Brough. 31 pp., town founded about 1830; article based on recollections of some half dozen people; sketch of Hillman Female College; too many superlatives.

19. La Cache, by Rev. Ira M. Boswell. 11 pp., sketch of a historic plantation made famous because H. Blenner-

hasset lived there for more than eight years; no sources given.

20. Some historic homes in Mississippi, by Mrs. N. D. Deupree. 23 pp., very pleasant sketches, without authentication, of Beauvoir, Longwood, Blakely, Yerger, Ford, The Hill, Bonner, The West, The Jones, Mason; the first was Davis's last home, the second was that of S. S. Prentiss; there is a description of each house and the grounds around.

21. Choctaw mission station in Jasper County, by Capt. A. J. Brown. 2 pp., based on oral information from four others.

22. Lowndes County, its antiquities and pioneer settlers, by Col. Wm. A. Love. 22 pp., some exact references given but largely general knowledge.

23. Mingo Moshulitubbee's prairie village, by Col. Wm. A. Love. 6 pp., some original sources used in describing this Indian village.

24. The chroniclers of DeSoto's Expedition, by Prof. T. H. Lewis. 10 pp., a good bibliographical article estimating the works on the expedition.

25. Origin of Mashulaville, by Mr. H. S. Halbert. 9 pp., based on two traditions handed down by word of mouth to the present, really a sketch of the Indian chief Mingo Moshulitubbee.

26. British west Florida, by Peter J. Hamilton, Esq. 28 pp., a comprehensive essay describing the place, population, government, and relations with Indians, narrating the main historical events.

27. The floods of the Mississippi, by John W. Monette. 52 pp., a capital piece of original material prepared by this scientific observer on observations made by himself.

28. Navigation and commerce on the Mississippi, by John W. Monette. 45 pp., really a chapter from a history of Mississippi that he prepared; contains many facts with

considerable references; also four pages of tables of imports and exports at New Orleans from 1837-1841.

29. Index. 7 pp.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY, No. 11, 1903, pp. 238.

Contents: 1. Report of Eleventh annual meeting, 5 pp.

2. Address of the President, Dr. Cyrus Adler, 6 pp.

3. Switzerland and American Jews, by S. M. Stroock, 46 pp., a lengthy but useful account of the effort on the part of American Jews to obtain the rights of citizenship in Switzerland in 1850 and the succeeding years.

4. Phases in the History of Religious Liberty in America, with Special Reference to the Jews, by Max J. Kohler, 21 pp., deals with the influence which American treatment of the Jews at the time of the Revolution exercised upon French lawmakers at the same period. A valuable paper.

5. The Jews of New England (Other than Rhode Island) prior to 1800, by Leon Huehner, 25 pp., a useful compilation of printed references, mainly from published sources. Contains much material for further investigation.

6. The Jews and the American Sunday Laws, by Albert M. Friedenberg, 15 pp., a carefully-prepared paper, of real value to students of Sunday legislation, especially that which concerns Jews. The paper hardly belongs here; a legal magazine would have been a more appropriate place for it.

7. The Jews of Chicago, by H. Eliassof, 14 pp., a useful sketch of the Jews of that city.

8. New matter relating to Mordecai M. Noah, by G. Herber Cone, 7 pp., contains details from the records of the grant of Grand Island for his Ararat project and other incidents not generally known in the life of this interesting worthy.

9. Note On Isaac Gomez and Lewis Moses Gomez, from An Old Family Record, by Miss Elvira N. Solis, 6 pp.

10. Report of the Committee On Collections of the American Jewish Historical Society, 4 pp.

11. Items Relating to the History of the Jews of New York, by N. Taylor Phillips, 13 pp., includes data about the Jews of St. Eustatius, correspondence between Jewish citizens and Presidents of the United States, &c.

12. The Trial of Francisco Maldonado De Silva, by George Alexander Kohut, 17 pp., the detailed story of a martyr to the Inquisition in Peru.

13. Miscellaneous notes, 17 pp., necrology and index, 16 pp.

RECORDS OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Compiled by the Committee on Publication and the Recording Secretary. Washington, D. C. Vol. VII, pp. 290, 8vo., cloth.

Contents: 1. Historic Fort Washington on the Potomac, by James Dudley Morgan, M. D. 19 pp., a few miles below Washington; sketches from beginning to present; embellished with illustrations and with reproductions of old maps; letters included but little references given as to their source.

2. Early History of the Washington Library Company and other local libraries, by W. Dawson Johnston. 19 pp., a scientific paper based on newspapers mostly.

3. John Barnes, a forgotten philanthropist of Georgetown, by Miss Cordelia Jackson. 10 pp., born 1730 in England, died Feb. 11, 1826, gave money for a poor house but the fund now lost as a separate one; not very exact in statements.

4. The Life and times of Pontius D. Stelle, by Miss Maud Burr Morris. 17 pp., born Feb. 15, 1763 in New

Jersey, came to Washington about 1800 and kept a prominent hotel there; based on memory of old tradition.

5. Washington's houses on Capitol Hill, by Henry B. Looker. 6 pp., two residences now known as the Kenmore but not a scientific paper.

6. Hotels of Washington prior to 1814, by Wilhelmus B. Bryan. 36 pp., seemingly based largely on newspapers; full and detailed.

7. Why the city went westward; A discussion, by James Dudley Morgan, M. D., Glenn Brown, Allen C. Clark, and W. B. Bryan. 39 pp., no definite reasons given; some evidence that L'Enfant expected it to go westward; little of the discussion touched the question.

8. Old residences and family history in the City Hall Neighborhood, by Douglass Zevely. 24 pp., no authority given for this mass of facts.

9. The first Master of ceremonies of the White House, by John H. McCormick, M. D. 25 pp., sketch of Jean Pierre Sioussat who assisted Mrs. Madison in social matters; born Sept. 22, 1781, date of death not given; no exact references.

10. Houses of Bricks imported from England, by George Alfred Townsend. 16 pp., bald newspaperly statements based on secondary sources; a botch of a fine subject for scientific treatment.

11. The lyric element in American History, by Ainsworth R. Spofford, LL. D. 26 pp., a fine essay with numerous extracts mostly political and military.

12. Street Nomenclature of Washington City, by Mr. Justice Alexander B. Hagner. 25 pp., a very thoughtful argument for changing the lettered street names of Washington to the names of prominent men, at the same time preserving the alphabetical feature.

13. Appendix. 27 pp., covering officers and members, proceedings of the society, and annual reports, with index.

THE PROCESS OF INDUCTIVE INFERENCE. By Frank Thilly. University of Missouri, April, 1904, pp. 40, paper, \$.35. (Vol. II, No. 3, University of Missouri Studies.)

After surveying the work of Aristotle, Bacon, Mills, Jevons, Sigwart and Lotze, our author gives us a most capable treatment of the theory of induction. So sure does he feel his ground that he can almost entirely discard the senseless jargon of the average philosopher, and offer his thought in simple, clear language, though it is hardly possible for him or anyone else to add any very large complement to previous discussions of logic. His unusual excellence consists in his firmness of grasp and lucidity of language.

NORTH CAROLINA: A study in English Colonial Government. By Charles Lee Raper, Ph. D., associate professor of economics and associate professor of history in the University of North Carolina. New York: Macmillan Company. 1904. O. pp. xiii+260, cloth.

Dr. Raper is a pioneer in the study of the phases of North Carolina Colonial history contained in this volume. There has been some study of the constitutional beginnings under the Proprietors and also of the land system, but the question of colonial administration in its broader phases, of the governor under the crown, the council under the crown, the lower house of the legislature under the crown, the land system and its administration, the fiscal system, the judicial system and the system of defence have been till the present a sealed book to all except special students.

Two years ago Dr. Raper printed, in fulfillment of requirements for an academic degree, chapters 2, 3, 4 and 9 but these in the present publication have been changed in a decided manner. The purpose of the author has been to present in a clear and definite way the workings of the machinery of government. He has begun with the proprietary administration and the study clearly proves what has per-

haps never been fully appreciated up to the present; that in changing from the proprietors to the crown there was no sudden and radical departure from the customs and usages already established. On the other hand the changes were small, and were introduced gradually as is readily seen by an examination of the proceedings of the legislature and council and of the court, fiscal, land and defence systems. As a matter of fact the change was more in name than in reality as far as the colonists were concerned.

The monograph as a whole is a minute, careful, exact, painstaking study. It is a suggestive, thoughtful, scholarly and scientific work, based almost exclusively on sources, printed and unprinted. It brings together in a clear cut and compact shape all that it is possible for us to know in the present condition of the sources. The author realizes and seizes on the salient characteristics of the early North Carolinians, happily summarized when he says: "The colonists had little respect for the government imposed on them" (p. 175). He traces the evolution of constitutional liberty in that colony from precedent to precedent, from prerogative to self government, from the crown to the people. Through their representatives, the lower house of assembly, they began when the colony had just entered its teens a struggle for supremacy, which through the control over the finances of the province gradually secured by them, had before the days of the Revolution wrought a substantial victory for the colony. The judicial tone of the work is admirable; the typographical appearance not to be excelled and the text in general very free from blunders. It is not often that the reviewer finds a North Carolina book so flawless in this respect. There is however, one instance that may be mentioned: "While the colonists at no time openly rebelled against the patentees" (p. 25) is an error. Dr. Raper forgets that Sothel, the governor impeached in 1689,

deposed from office and expelled from the province, was not only an appointee of the proprietors but was one himself!

The fourth number of the JAMES SPRUNT HISTORICAL MONOGRAPHS issued by the University of North Carolina presents many letters and documents pertaining to the early history of the Lower Cape Fear section and is edited with introduction and note by Professor Kemp P. Battle, LL. D. (O. pp. 135+[1]).

The volume includes extracts from the papers of the De Rossett family who have been associated with Wilmington since 1735, the documents themselves ranging from 1720 to 1847. There are extracts from the town journal with notes by Capt. S. A. Ashe, a reprint of some of the letters of James Murray; an account of the location of Smithville by Joshua Potts, together with a reprint of extracts from the diary of General Joshua G. Swift. His diary runs from 1804 to 1823 and has many entries of great local interest and value. The whole monograph contains much in the colonial and revolutionary periods, and is enlivened and enriched from the full storehouse of history and tradition of the accomplished editor.

The Johnson-Wynne Company, Washington, D. C., announce as in preparation MEN OF MARK IN NORTH CAROLINA, "ideals of American life told in biographies and autobiographies of eminent living North Carolinians." It is to extend to three large octavo volumes of over 500 pages each, is to be edited by Captain Samuel A. Ashe and will be illustrated by high class portraits. "Merit will be the one test of admission to its pages. The man who has done good work in serving the community and who is setting a good example tending to uplift his fellow men. * * * If these qualifications are wanting, his biography will not

appear." The qualifications of every person selected is passed on by an advisory board consisting of eleven prominent men. If the requirements for admission are rigidly adhered to the work will be of great value to the State, but from books, of the "Pay and go in" kind, like Brant and Fuller's *Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas* and A. Davis Smith's *Western North Carolina* good Lord deliver us!

THE MESSAGES AND PROCLAMATIONS OF THE GOVERNORS OF IOWA, by Benjamin F. Shambaugh, A. M., Ph. D. Iowa City, Iowa: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1904, pp. IX+425, 8vo., cloth.

Following the solid path of previous volumes, this one covers two administrations; John H. Gear, 1878-1882 and Buren R. Sherman, 1882-1886. There is a sketch of each of these showing Gear's dates as April 7, 1825, July 14, 1900; while Sherman's is May 28, 1836, he being still alive. There is one serious defect in the editorial work; there is no date on the back of the volume and none on the title page to show the period of time covered.

PALMETTO STORIES. A reader for fifth grades. By Celina E. Means, with the editorial assistance of William H. Hand. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903. D. pp. 244, map, portraits, illus., cloth.

This little volume of stories relating to South Carolina is not intended as a history of the State. Its purpose is to so present the most picturesque features of that history as to attract the attention of young children and "to create in them pride for the noble achievements of their forefathers and love for their State." To these avowed reasons the author might have added that in this way an interest in history might be created and an enthusiasm for historical study aroused. There is comparatively little in the history

of America as a whole that appeals to the imagination of young children. There is still less in that of single states while in some cases there is nothing. The problem then is how to give children an idea of the early history of their own section and run no risk of turning them against the study of history as a whole.

It seems that in the present volume Mrs. Means has successfully met the difficulty. The volume does not take the history of South Carolina and treat it seriatim. It takes the salient features, the picturesque events, the mountain peaks of that history and tells of them in simple, plain language that a child can understand. Such chapters as the coming of the Huguenots, a notable colonial dame, the Catawba Indians, the armchair of Tustenuggee, the boat chase are such as will interest the child and give him desire for more exhaustive and deeper reading.

A KNIGHT OF COLUMBIA. A Story of the War. By General Charles King. The Hobart Co., N. Y., 1904. 8°, pp. 348.

This is another Civil War story. Though many have tried, no truly great artist has yet entered this field, which is so wonderfully full of rich material.

The hero of this story, Rex Ingraham, was a Columbia College graduate, of the class of 1861. He evidently believed that the rebellion must be crushed in order to save the Union and the Southern States. He was vigorous but lacking in good judgment in some particulars. He would not accept a commission because he knew nothing of war, and went to the army as a private. Leaving a sweetheart in New York, he became a trooper. He met with many accidents and incidents; some of which were due to his lack of judgment, while others were the result of the chaotic system of the nation's military officers during the early years of the war. He became sick of body and heart; he

was under the charge of a military crime and his good name at home was blackened by his supposed friends. He was captured by the Virginians, but remained a prisoner for a short time only, being rescued by a Virginian who had sworn ever to fight his nation and would not take up arms against his fellow Southerners. During his sickness in Washington he had become somewhat entangled by the charms of a Southern girl, and during his captivity he had learned much of the feelings of the South and something of the future battlefields. Things now brightened for him. He took more important parts in war, was in demand at the War Office in Washington, rendered good service to his country in Virginia battlefields and in New York City against mobs, and finally cleared his reputation at home. His first love, the New York belle, now comes back to him and everything ends well.

This story, while interesting, is not very vigorous, nor is it told in a very artistic manner. The theme, though a great one, is presented in a light, pleasant way. The author, though never partisan, is ignorant of many of the ideas and sentiments in the minds and hearts of the American people at that most critical period.

CHARLES LEE RAPER.

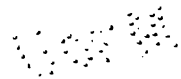
Dr. B. A. Elzas, Charleston, S. C., asks for subscriptions at \$10.00 each, to his history of the Jews of South Carolina in one volume, which is to be printed on hand-made paper, with numerous tinted phototypes, all in the finest manner by the Lippincott Company of Philadelphia. The edition will consist of only 325 numbered copies of which 300 will be for sale. No other illustrated edition will appear. Dr. Elzas has made a most thorough and expensive investigation into his subject, having visited repositories throughout the eastern portion of the United States. He gathered in all some 23,000 pages of transcripts. He covers from

1695 to 1800, largely in the original material with enough comment and interpretation to set forth the important ideas.

Prof. Walter L. Fleming, State University, Morgantown, W. Va., is completing a most thorough, scholarly history of reconstruction in his native State, Alabama. Very wisely he will go much beyond the beaten track of organic political acts and will describe the social effects of that terrible carnival on the life and opinions of the mass of people. Of course, a vast quantity of material is perhaps not yet available and will not be for many years, as diaries and private letters and personal reminiscences will not see the light for a long time, but with the scientific spirit of to-day in historical investigation, Prof. Fleming will examine practically all data in existence. He is now issuing a valuable series of reconstruction documents at a yearly subscription of \$1.00. Number three bears on the Union League of America, containing the Constitution, the ritual, the catechism, some resolutions and other evidence.

Uniform with their reprints of the *Lewis and Clark Journals* and *Hennepin's Travels*, McClurg & Co., Chicago, announce a reprint of the *Journal of Patrick Gass*, one of the party composing the Lewis and Clark expedition, provided with a new analytical index and an introduction written by Dr. James K. Hosmer. The volume will be illustrated with facsimiles from the original edition, with a portrait of Gass, and with a map of the Lewis and Clark route. The same firm will also issue in the early fall, in uniform style, a reprint of *Lahontan's Travels*, edited, with introduction and notes, by Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites, with facsimiles of the illustrations in the original.

A most interesting series will very likely be that of *The Trail Makers*, by A. S. Barnes & Co., N. Y. City, edited by



Prof. J. B. McMaster. The volumes are to be convenient and inexpensive, \$1.00 each. So far it is settled that we shall have *Lewis and Clark Expedition*, the *Mackenzie Journals* and the *Colorado Journal*. There will be others covering phases of Indian life and also early explorations in Canada.

The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, Ohio, will publish a series on *Indian Captivity*, beginning with early accounts in New England, at prices ranging from \$2.00 to \$4.00.

Rev. T. H. Ball, Crown Point, Ind., has published a short treatise on the inspiration of the Bible which is considered especially safe for young people and in consequence has been very favorably received. The author has copies at seventy-five cents each.

Major Thos. L. Broun, Charleston, W. Va., has lately issued in the form of broadsides genealogical material on the Ball, Conway, Gaskins, McAdam, Broun, Pinkard, Walker, and Eltonhead families.

The annual REPORTS of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission to the Secretary of War, 1893-1901 (Senate Doc. 453, 57C. 1 S.) contain many illustrations of the improvements and marking of battle sites that are being made there.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, April, 1904, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 437-648. \$4.00 per year, \$1.00 per mo.

This number of the Review contains more articles bearing on the Southern field than it is wont to do. It opens with a report of the meeting held in New Orleans in December, a meeting not so well attended as some others, but one of importance. There was during the sessions a conference on the study and teaching of history in the South, participated in by Prof. W. E. Dodd, Prof. Alcée Fortier, Miss Lilian W. Johnson, Prof. F. W. Moore, Prof. F. L. Riley, Mr. Thomas M. Owen, and others. Taken as a whole these reports and talks disclosed the fact that while the situation was not satisfactory, progress was being made along many lines, and "scarcely any States in the Union are doing as much as are Alabama and Mississippi, where the State governments have established departments charged with the task of gathering and preserving valuable historical papers." This is perhaps a very broad and liberal recognition to appear in the journal of an organization which has among all its officers and committeemen just three representatives from all the Southern States and one of them doubtful!

Mr. Woodbury Lowery shows from original materials that Elizabeth in her dealings with Jean Ribault, the founder of the French Carolina settlement of 1562, was carrying out her serious designs of occupying Florida, 4 pp.

P. L. Haworth discusses Frederick the Great and the American Revolution, based principally on Frederick's correspondence with his ministers at home and abroad, now accessible in transcript in the Bancroft Papers in the Lenox Library, and on the diplomatic correspondence of the American Revolution (19 pp).

Max Ferrand writes on the compromises of the Constitution (11 pp.). W. R. Shepherd contributes new unprinted materials on Wilkinson and the Spanish Conspiracy drawn from the Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid, Papales de Estado. The most important of these are Wilkinson's first memorial in English, addressed to Miro and Navarro, his declaration of allegiance to the Spanish crown, Aug. 22, 1787, in Spanish, and the formal report of Miro and Navarro. Mr. Shepherd also prints a Spanish translation of Wilkinson's letter of Nov. 17, 1806, to Jose de Iturrigaray, of which the English original has been lost, with a retranslation into English (17 pp. and 5 pp.).

In the World Aspects of the Louisiana Purchase, Prof. W. M. Sloane shows the epochal character of this movement and treaty (15 pp.).

There is a letter from Admiral Farragut in 1853, giving some account of his early life; many book reviews and notes.

THE VIRGINIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, April, 1904, Vol. XI. No. 4, quarterly, pp. 345-490, \$5.00 yearly, \$1.50 singly, Richmond, Va.

Contents: 1. Proceedings of Virginia Committee of Correspondence, 1759-'67. (Continued.) 13 pp., bearing chiefly on the money question and slaves as personal property.

2. Virginia Gleanings in England. (Continued.) 12 pp., with abstracts by L. Withington and H. F. Waters with some administration abstracts.

3. Moravian Diaries of Travels Through Virginia. (Continued.) 23 pp., L. Schnell and R. Hussey, journey to Georgia, 1743-1744, incidents and religious exercises; edited by

4. The Site of Old "James Towne," 1607-1608, by Samuel W. J. Hinke and C. E. Kemper.

H. Yonge. (Continued.) 21 pp., careful, comprehensive treatment by this engineer.

5. Trial of Rev. Archibald McRoberts. 1 pp., by county court for using hymns instead of psalms, but jury decided that guilty if the law said so, otherwise not guilty.

6. Prosecution of Baptist Ministers. 2 pp., from records of Chesterfield County that they preached without authority.

7. Sketch of Gov. Walter Leake, of Mississippi. 2 pp., born May 20, 1762, died, 1825, one of the Virginians who became Governors of other States.

8. Virginia Militia in the Revolution. (Continued.) 2 pp., pay accounts.

9. Historical and Genealogical Notes and Queries. 4 pp., contain extracts from old papers also.

10. The Vestry Book of King William Parish, Va., 1707-1750. (Continued.) 16 pp., chiefly financial matters with some church trials.

11. Genealogy. (Continued.) 16 pp., Bruce, Minor, Brooke, Herndon, and Fielding families.

12. Index. 34 pp.

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE QUARTERLY, April, 1904, Vol. XII, No. 4, pp. 207-274, \$3.00 yearly, \$1.00 singly, Williamsburg, Va.

Contents: 1. Extracts from Virginia Gazette, 1752. 14 pp., mostly advertisements of sales with some notices of public entertainments.

2. Journal of Cuthbert Powell. 11 pp., a round trip to the West Indies in the latter part of 1796, by a boy of seventeen; chiefly weather conditions noted.

3. Resolutions of Loudoun County in 1774. 5 pp., from a Leesburg, Va., newspaper of 1877-1878, printing from copy, the patriotic resolutions passed at a general meeting; the original document not found but believed that this was an exact copy.

4. Sarah Hallam, the Actress. 1 pp., sketch of company playing in Williamsburg in 1752 and onwards; she kept school there also taught dancing.
5. Jerman Baker to Duncan Rose. 5 pp., letter from London, Feb. 15, 1764, bearing chiefly on trade.
6. Tombstones in Middlesex County. (Continued.) 2 pp., four names, B. Yates, J. Wormley, Lucy Berkeley, and John Grymes with two others of his family.
7. History of the Dade Family. 5 pp., copied from W. A. G. Dade in May, 1856, then again from that by K. M. Rowland, goes back to 1694, but seemingly rests largely on tradition.
8. Col. Nathaniel Pope and his Descendants. (Continued.) 3 pp., mostly southern branches.
9. Armistead Wills. 4 pp., that of Hannah H. A. Armistead in 1728 and that of William Armistead in 1714.
10. Marriage Bonds in Fairfax. 2 pp., some eighty items in all, mostly the last quarter of eighteenth century.
11. Selden Family. One-half page., from English Records of 1684, bearing on the will of Cicely Selden.
12. William Barton Roger's Visit to Williamsburg. 2 pp., a letter of April 4, 1859, describing the locality by President of the Massachusetts Institute of Tecnology.
13. Pinkard Family. 2 pp., covering three generations in one line only, beginning 1688.
14. Conway Family. 3 pp., covering five generations beginning 1642.
15. Descendants of Francis Gray, including notes of the Strother, Rootes, and French Families. 4 pp., covering five generations of this carpenter, Gray, beginning 1637.
16. Letter regarding Armistead Smith. 1 p., recommendation for holy orders, perhaps 1794.
17. Notices from Virginia Gazette, 1785. One-half page, marriages and deaths, 1784-1785. Queries, 2 pp.

THE WEST VIRGINIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, April, 1904, Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 81-180, \$1.00 yearly, 25 cts. singly, Charleston, W. Va.

Contents: 1. John Lewis and his family, by Mrs. Delia Agnes McCulloch. 14 pp., born about 1675, died, Feb. 1, 1762; will of Andrew Lewis; no references; hardly reliable as two dates and two localities of birth are given.

2. Andrew Lewis and Point Pleasant, by Mrs. Eva Grant Maloney. 13 pp., sketchy essay, without any reference, with extracts from some letters whose source is not given; battle of Point Pleasant, 1774.

3. A sad incident, by E. G. M. One-half page, a petition for relief, by Robert Steven, to Virginia, as his son William, fourteen years old, had been killed at the battle of Point Pleasant, 1774.

4. Extract from Virginia Convention, by E. G. M. 1 p., 1775, giving list of delegates and members of a Committee.

5. Col. Chas. Lewis' Journal, by Mrs. Delia A. McCulloch. 7 pp., on his march to Fort Cumberland in 1775 after the defeat of Braddock; military incidents, distances; original in Wisconsin Historical Society.

6. General Andrew Lewis, by W. S. Laidley. 19 pp., mere dry essay condensed from stock sources not named; Lewis, born 1720, died about 1780.

7. Samuel Lewis, John D. Lewis, and Lewis' Genealogy, by W. S. Laidley. 13 pp., no reliance to be placed on the statements as no references given for events of more than two centuries ago.

8. Henshaw Family, by Miss Valley V. Henshaw. 23 pp., begins about 1650, comes down to present.

9. Adam Miller, the first settler, by Chas. E. Kemper. 6 pp., a critical paper deciding between Adam Miller and Jost Hite with decision in favor of Miller.

10. Annual meeting, Jan., 1904, by Rev. R. D. Roller, Secretary. 1 p.

11. Notes, queries, etc. 1 p.

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET for March is by Professor M. C. S. Noble and deals with the Battle of Moore's Creek, Feb. 27, 1776, the first American victory. It is based largely on and reproduces many extracts from the records, with autographs of leaders, maps and illustrations. The supreme commander in the battle was Col. James Moore, of the Continental Army, under him and in immediate command was Alexander Lillington, colonel of the militia of Wilmington district, with Richard Caswell as next in rank. There is the usual quota of errors, the poor regulators being forced once more to serve in the Tory ranks.

The contents of the Booklet for the next year, volume IV, are to be as follows: The Lords Proprietors of the Province of Carolina, by Kemp P. Battle, LL. D.; The Battle of Ramsour's Mill, by Major William A. Graham; Rejection of the Federal Constitution in 1788, and its Subsequent Adoption, by Associate Justice Henry G. Connor; North Carolina Signers of the National Declaration of Independence: William Hooper, John Penn, Joseph Hewes, by Mrs. Spier Whitaker, Mr. T. M. Pittman, Dr. Walter Sikes; Homes of North Carolina—The Hermitage, Vernon Hall, by Colonel William H. S. Burgwyn, Prof. Collier Cobb; Expedition to Carthagenia in 1740, by Chief Justice Walter Clark; The Earliest English Settlement in America, by Mr. W. J. Peele; The Battle of Guilford Court House, by Prof. D. H. Hill; Rutherford's Expedition Against the Indians, 1775, by Captain S. A. Ashe; The Highland Scotch Settlement in North Carolina, by Judge James C. MacRae; The Scotch-Irish Settlement in North Carolina; Governor Thomas Pollock, by Mrs. John Hinsdale.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER for April, 1903, though very late in appearing, is none the less welcome. pp. 161-320, \$3.00 per year, J. R. B. Hathaway, editor, Edenton, N. C.

Principal contents: Abstracts of wills in Perquimans County, N. C., down to 1801, 36 pp.; Births, marriages and deaths in Berkeley (later Perquimans) precinct, 17th century, 22 pp.; many original papers from hitherto unexploited sources relating to the early history of Northeastern North Carolina, prior to 1728; soldiers of N. C. Continental line, reprint, 8 pp.; Albemarle County, N. C.; genealogies of Hoskins, Hill-Faison and other families.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL MAGAZINE, April, 1904, Vol. V, No. 2, quarterly, pp. 69-124, \$3.00 yearly, \$1.00 singly, Charleston, S. C.

Contents: 1. Letters of Hon. Henry Laurens to his son John, 1773-1776. (Continued.) 13 pp., three letters from the father in S. C. to the son in London, considerable discussion of the impending war.

2. Records of the regiments of the S. C. Line, Continental establishment. (Continued.) 8 pp., comprising orders, passes, court-martial findings, and guard reports.

3. The Battle of Stono, 5 pp., two accounts of this engagement of June 20, 1779, copied by Henry Laurens from letters now lost and from a report as to the number of casualties which amounted to 155.

4. Documents concerning Mrs. Samuel Thomas, 1707-1710. 5 pp., copied from the missionary society bearing on the salary to be paid to the widow of S. Thomas, the first missionary to S. C. from that society.

5. South Carolina Gleanings in England. (Continued.) 8 pp., abstracts of wills and letters of administration of the first half of the eighteenth century gathered by L. Withington and H. F. Waters.

6. Governor Joseph Morton and some of his descendants, by A. S. Salley, Jr. 9 pp., Morton came to S. C. in 1681; article fortified with scholarly notes.

7. Historical Notes. 5 pp., an interesting one is extract

from a paper of Sept. 22, 1775, giving an account of death of a negro boy in Charleston harbor by a shark.

8. Necrology. 3 pp., two sketches, McDonald Furman, and Joseph B. Allston, who wrote a life of Calhoun in the *News and Courier* in 1899.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, April, 1904, Vol. IX, No. 2, pp. 105-200, \$3.00 yearly, 85 cts. singly, Nashville, Tenn.

Contents: 1. William Robertson Garrett, A. M., Ph. D., by Albert V. Goodpasture. 8 pp., a first class informational sketch.

2. Annals of a Scotch Family: the Whitsitts of Nashville, Tenn., by William H. Whitsitt. (Continued.) 26 pp., based pretty largely on documents and records but no foot notes.

3. Biography of Thomas Emmerson, by Henry Francis Beaumont. 4 pp., born June 23, 1773, died July 22, 1837, giving important facts about this Tennessee pioneer, but no authorities quoted.

4. Jackson's Attitude in the Seminole War, by David Y. Thomas. 8 pp., obscure article but seems to defend Jackson against Sumner's life of him in the matter of Jackson's arbitrary execution of prisoners; based on original matter but does not show broad grasp of the times.

5. Dr. Augustus Gattinger. 26 pp., born in Germany, Feb. 3, 1825, died July 18, 1903; a very readable sketch of this physician and botanist who made a specialty of Tennessee plants; a list of his writings.

6. Founding of Knoxville. 4 pp., a letter of January 19, 1842, from Hugh Dunlap, an early citizen of the town, based on memory.

7. The Rodes Family, by Frank Rodes. 4 pp., starting about 1695.

8. Samuel Houston. 6 pp., a letter at Santiago de Chili, of January 16, 1894, from Gov. James D. Porter to his son

Charles D. Porter, describing Houston's trial in Congress for contempt in 1832.

9. General Nathaniel Taylor and some papers relating to his service in the War of 1812, by Ernest W. Goodpasture. 8 pp., chiefly military orders with some genealogy.

THE QUARTERLY OF THE TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, April, 1904, Vol. VII, No. 4, pp. 249-331, yearly \$2.00, singly 50 cts., Austin, Tex.

Contents: 1. Journal of the permanent council (October 11-27, 1835.), edited by Eugene C. Barker. 30 pp., from the State archives, additions from newspapers; this was a preliminary body living only twenty-one days.

2. The first Texas Railroad, by P. Brisco. 7 pp., known as the Harrisburg road, information seemingly from newspapers and from memory.

3. Journal of Stephen F. Austin on his first trip to Texas, 1821. 22 pp., close observations of the land and its possibilities.

4. Concerning Philip Nolan. 10 pp., the first leader of an American party to Texas; five letters of 1798-1801 from Jefferson, Daniel Clark, J. Wilkinson, and William Dunbar; bearing very little on Nolan; copied from State Department in Washington.

5. Notes and fragments. 12 pp., mostly Fannin correspondence of 1835, bearing on preparations for the struggle with Mexico.

6. Book reviews and notices. One-half page.

7. Affairs of the Association. One-half page; index. 16 pp.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, April, 1904, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, pp. 129-256, quarterly, \$3.00 yearly, 75 cents singly, Philadelphia, Penna.

Contents: 1. Sketch of John Inskeep, Mayor, and Presi-

dent of the Insurance Company of North America, Philadelphia, by Henry Edward Wallace, Jr. 7 pp., born January 29, 1757, died Dec. 18, 1834, no references given.

2. Letters of Thomas Jefferson to Charles Willson Peale, 1796-1825, by Horace W. Sellers. (Continued.) 19 pp., 21 letters from 1796-1804 bearing largely on mechanical improvements of the polygraph, the instrument by which Jefferson kept copies of his letters.

3. List of Penn Manuscripts (Forbes Collection). 14 pp., chiefly letters to and from Penn, bought in 1882 from the estate of Thomas Gordon Penn.

4. Pennsylvania Gleanings in England, by Lothrop Withington. (Continued.) 7 pp., will and administration abstracts.

5. The Alaska Adjudication, by Thomas Willing Balch. 6 pp., believes Canada had no just claim but something granted to her as a compromise, hopes for commercial union of this country and Canada.

6. Mrs. Mary Dewees' Journal from Philadelphia to Kentucky, 1787-1788, by Samuel P. Cochran. 17 pp., very readable diary by this close observer.

7. The furniture of our Ancestors. (Concluded.) 2 pp., names, descriptions and prices.

8. Pennsylvania Soldiers of the Revolution entitled to Depreciation pay. (Concluded.) 3 pp., table of names and sums paid April 28, 1781.

9. Alexander Lawson, by Townsend Ward. 5 pp., early American engraver born Dec. 19, 1772, died Aug. 22, 1846.

10. Marriage licenses of Caroline County, Maryland, 1774-1815, by Henry Downes Cranor. (Continued.) 7 pp., copied from the records though one year, 1776, is missing.

11. Two letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. 2 pp., dates, Oct. 22, 1777, and Aug. 22, 1806, personal matters in first, public affairs in second.

12. Ship Registers for the Port of Philadelphia, 1726-

1775. (Continued.) 18 pp., 1769-1770, giving names of vessels, of masters, of owners, also locality of building and tonnage.

13. Notes and queries. 18 pp., among other matters has material on Jefferson, Penn, Fox, Greene, Henry Knox, and the artist Peale.

14. Book Notices. 3 pp.

THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, April, 1904, Vol. II, No. 2, quarterly, pp. 155-312, \$2.50 yearly, 50 cts. singly, Iowa City, Iowa.

Contents: 1. The American Political Science Association, by Paul S. Reinsch. 7 pp., account of its organization at New Orleans last Christmas.

2. A brief history of the Amana Society, 1714-1900, by Charles Fred. Noe. 26 pp., really an official history as written by one of its members though he gives no authority for statements beyond his own knowledge.

3. The Iowa Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, by Eldridge Drew Hadley. 11 pp., detailed account of the organization and work of this branch.

4. The league of Wisconsin Municipalities, by Samuel Edwin Sparling. 19 pp., a serious description of this order which seems to be very active.

5. Shelby County—A Sociological Study, by John J. Louis. 38 pp., as in previous issue the same mass of unauthenticated statements, worthless in themselves and dangerous to be used because not verified.

6. The Constitution of Colorado, by Elmer Herbert Meyer. 19 pp., a condensed account of this constitution modeled on that of Illinois and adopted in 1876.

7. Some publications. 16 pp.

8. Notes and Comment. 22 pp.

CONFEDERATE VETERAN, April, May, 1904, Vol. XII, Nos. 4, 5, pp. 149-202, 213-245, \$1.00 yearly, 10 cts. singly, Nashville, Tenn.

April contains the history report of the Virginia Department of the Confederate Veterans for 1903, in which issue is very sharply taken with several claims for high honors during the Civil War for North Carolina troops. But it is not a very comprehensive array of evidence. There is, however, a rather thoughtful defence of North Carolina in the May issue.

THE LOST CAUSE, March, 1904, Vol. X, No. 8, pp., 114-127, \$1.00 yearly, 10 cts. singly, Louisville, Ky.

In this number we have what is claimed to be gathered from Confederate archives on the origin of the Confederate flag. There are several illustrations showing designs submitted. A very striking one has a rattlesnake stretched diagonally across.

THE METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1904, Vol. LIII, No. 2, pp. 211-416, \$2.00 yearly, 50 cts. singly, Nashville, Tenn.

Contents: 1. Mr. Morley's Life of Gladstone, by Rev. W. Harrison. 16 pp., a readable formal review by topics.

2. Mr. Gladstone as a Churchman and Theologian, by Prof. W. T. Davidson, M. A., D. D. 24 pp., based on Morley and collections of Gladstone's works; a comprehensive review.

3. The Hittites, by J. H. Stevenson, B. D., Ph. D. 11 pp., essay; no hope of learning much of Hittites.

4. Herbert Spencer, by Eugene Parsons, Ph. D. 6 pp., sketchy essay on life and publications; latter brought in over \$100,000.

5. Spencer's attitude toward religion, by Rev. Howard

Sprague, D. D. 9 pp., that Spencer believed in a Great Cause but not in a future life for men.

6. *Southern Writers*, by Charles Foster Smith, Ph. D. 12 pp., based on the two volumes by Link and the two by Baskervill; with interesting incidents of his own; commendatory in tone.

7. *A new light in non-conformity*, by Rev. J. T. Daves. 11 pp., based on the sermons of R. J. Campbell, who succeeded the famous Dr. Parker, pastor of the City Temple of London; very favorable.

8. *Teaching and Persuading*, by Bishop E. R. Hendrix, D. D., LL. D. 16 pp., general consideration on the work of the minister.

9. *To rare Ben Johnson*, by S. A. Link, M. A. 10 pp., an essay on life and works, chiefly former.

10. *Inspiration*, by J. E. Godbey, D. D. 7 pp., that in some senses the whole Bible is inspired, in some senses not—you can take your choice.

11. *Robert Moffat: African Pioneer*, by Rev. David Leith. 14 pp., average biographical essay of this Scotch missionary, who was born Dec. 21, 1795 and died Aug. 10, 1883.

12. *The English Elegy*, by Rev. Fitzgerald Sale Parker, D. D. 16 pp., with light touch on other peoples from Rome down, thinks Tennyson and Browning have given us the greatest Elegies, with Milton, Shelley, Keats and Wordsworth and others following.

13. *Half tones*, by Horace M. Du Bose. 1 p., poem.

14. *Editorial Departments*. 53 pp.

THE SEWANEE REVIEW, April, 1904, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 129-256, quarterly, \$2.00 yearly, 50 cts. singly, Nashville, Tenn.

Contents: 1. *The evolution of New Types in Fiction*, by Pierce Butler. 29 pp., a very didactic historical sketch based on some dozen histories of literature; thinks commercialism

and shallowness account for failure for present day novels to live.

2. *The Novel in America*, by C. Alphonso Smith. 9 pp., a rapid readable sketch of the more prominent writers.

3. *The British novel in the nineteenth century*, by the Editor. 7 pp., touches on Austin, Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, Eliot, Meredith, Harty, Stephenson, Kipling, and a few others.

4. *The South during the last decade*, by Frank T. Carlton. 8 pp., statistics of growth in population, manufactures, agriculture, working-men and education.

5. *William Watson and his poetry*, by Cornelius Weygandt. 25 pp., study in detail of poems, little on his life.

6. *Maurice Maeterlinck as a dramatic artist*, by Archibald Henderson. 10 pp., formal sketch with some analysis of leading works.

7. *The plays of Bernard Shaw*, by Ernest Godfrey Hoffsten. 6 pp., very general consideration of Shaw's method.

8. *German-American poetry, I*, by Ludwig Lewisohn. 8 pp., chiefly that of George S. Vierendeck and Konrad Nies, with descriptions of their style and extracts.

9. *American Primacy*, by Charles W. Turner. 15 pp., our Monroe Doctrine with historical European precedents.

10. *Reviews*, 6 pp.; *Notes*, 5 pp.

THE SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY, April, 1904, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 99-200, \$2.00 yearly, 50 cts. singly, Durham, N. C.

Contents: 1. *The negro's inheritance from Africa*. 10 pp., backwardness of his social condition there; seemingly based on Ratzel.

2. *Tendencies among Georgia farmers*, by Enoch Marvin Banks. 8 pp., that the share system will disappear, leaving only cash rent and wages hands.

3. *Some difficulties of the history teacher in the South*, by William E. Dodd, Ph. D. 6 pp., practically little money,

no libraries, no toleration, no culture, no good teachers except two in Virginia and one in North Carolina.

4. Herbert Spencer and his work, by William Ivey Cranford, Ph. D. 14 pp., a capital short sketch.

5. Recent tendencies in methods of making political nominations, by George D. Luetscher, Ph. D. 13 pp., thoughtful discussion of making primary nominations by government authority.

6. Yin-Teh-Sen, by Bernard C. Steiner, Ph. D. 4 pp., pleasant tribute by a friend to a missionary to China, James Addison Ingle.

7. North Carolina's part in the Revolution, III, by Sallie Joyner Davis. 12 pp., as before based on the State records, coming to end of war, showing that in North Carolina it was only a fraction of the people that fought for independence.

8. John Henry Boner, by Marcus Benjamin, Ph. D. 9 pp., a very sympathetic sketch by a friend of this poet, born 1845, died 1902, with many extracts from his verses.

9. Father Louis Hennepin, Explorer, by John Raper Ormond. 7 pp., sketch condensed from editorial matter in the reprint by R. G. Thwaites.

10. America in Literature, by Edwin Mims, Ph. D. 4 pp., review of Woodberry's volume with some criticisms of Woodberry on the South.

11. Book reviews, 12 pp.; Literary notes, 3 pp.

One of the most thorough, comprehensive and dignified anniversary issues ever got out by any paper is the Centennial Edition of the *Charleston News and Courier* for 1903, but appearing in April, 1904. It is a folio magazine of 108 pages surveying all forms of human activity past and present in the State. We have sketches of the schools and colleges, of politics, of the newspapers, of religion, of the State

government, of the various industries carried on within its borders, all fully illustrated. Very properly the fittest man for sketching the Jews of the State was Dr. B. A. Elzas, who has made that field of history practically his own. The regular daily of April 20, 1904, contained a great deal of this material also.

NOTES AND NEWS.

CORRESPONDENCE OF A. D. MURPHEY.—Few men in the history of North Carolina have been of greater value to the Commonwealth than was Archibald DeBow Murphey (1777-1832). He was an educator and scholar, lawyer and judge, promoter of internal improvements and historian. It is probably within the realm of truth to say that he was the forerunner of the U. S. Geological Survey of to-day, for that Survey counts Murphy's *Memoir* of 1819 and the *Reports* of the N. C. Board of Internal Improvements, 1818-1827, as the beginning of geological work in America. There is no doubt that work of this kind in North Carolina is due primarily to the influence of Murphy.

Judge Murphey collected much material for a history of North Carolina. This material seems to have disappeared and with it his personal correspondence. It turns out that a part of the latter has been saved, is now in the hands of one of his descendants and in due time will be published.

Mr. W. Henry Hoyt, of Brooklyn, N. Y., writes the editors in regard to this matter:

April 22nd, 1904.

"I am gratified to learn that one so intimately acquainted with North Carolina and her history has taken a special interest in the career of A. D. Murphey. Until a short time ago, my knowledge of him was confined to the little I had heard from my mother, whose father, Capt. Peter Umstead Murphey, of the United States and Confederate navies, was his son, * * *.

"Public documents of North Carolina, the senate journals and various reports such as those on internal improvement, education, etc., that Judge Murphey had to do with and from which the extent of his public services might be gleaned, are hard to find in our N. Y. Public Libraries, and indeed, except Gov. Graham's sketch, no one has given us a picture of him from the personal side, and hence it is difficult, at this late day, to gather information concerning his private life, ideas and characteristics.

"Having never made a study of internal improvements in N. C., nor even being familiar with the present sentiment toward him in

that regard, I am not in a position to give an opinion, but from what I have read it appears to me that the system proposed by him was practicable and if carried to completion, would have proved of lasting benefit to the commercial growth of the state. Its widespread popularity, gradually weakened by a fear that too much money was being spent on it, and the hardness of the times, with which I am struck, and which I firmly believe was the one obstacle to this and every other project he undertook, are easily followed in the letters I have. The enthusiasm it aroused appears most general. 'Old Treasurer' Haywood, perhaps his most intimate friend, writes him in 1819: 'I fear to indulge, or rather to express my wishes and hopes in regard to bettering our outlet to the ocean, even to you, lest you should consider me an enthusiast or visionary.' If the whole scheme was an idle dream, it was nevertheless shared by the most notable figures of his day. To my mind A. D. Murphey was fifty years ahead of his times. It appears also, that President James Monroe visited Roanoke Island, and Judge Murphey conferred with him on the matter. * * *

"You have asked me to give you a resume of what I have in hand. This I would cheerfully do did I know just how to go about it, but I will try to do something. There are upwards of 200 letters, excluding miscellaneous legal papers. * * * Among the letters I have are nine from Duncan Cameron, having much interest, seven of Treasurer John Haywood, written between 1818 and 1826, of value for their comments on internal improvements and affairs connected with the University, five of Peter Browne, a warm friend of internal improvement, and in aid of which he seems to have visited Europe, three of Charles Fisher, concerning his contemplated history. Among other correspondents I might mention Wm. J. Bingham, Nathaniel Boyden, Joseph Caldwell, John R. Donnell, S. Donoho, (The latter two are striking illustrations of the admiration felt for him by his former pupils). William Duffy, Hamilton Fulton, describing the progress of the work on the canals; Edward J. Hale, John Hall, Judge John Haywood, asking for material for his history of Tennessee, Archibald, John Lawson and Richard Henderson, Charles Manly, John M. Morehead, Frederick Nash, Richmond Pearson, Jas. G. McGregor Ramsey, concerning the J. M. Alexander certificate of the Mecklenburg declaration, then in the possession of Judge Murphey, together with the other Davie papers, Thomas Ruffin, John L. Taylor, etc. There are several long letters from Tennessee from his son, Victor Moreau, and a Capt. Herndon Haralson, describing that country in its early days, the letter inviting him to deliver the first address before the literary societies at the university, written by Thompson Byrd, in 1826, and two or three others connected with the subject. I have also some of William Duffy's correspondence and a great many legal papers, etc., that belonged to him and which I bought with the others. There are, of course, few of Judge Murphey's own letters among them. I believe there are eight, all illustrative of literary attainments and command of language.

"With respect to his contemplated history, I note that you think more has been made out of his work by later generations than was actually done. It is true that very little of what he gathered remains to-day, but there is reason to believe that he spent much time and

labor on it, and a great amount of material was collected and almost ready for publication were the means at his command, and so valuable that Charles Fisher writes him in 1827 that it would be advisable to ask the Legislature 'for a direct loan of \$10,000, without further security than the pledge of the materials you have or may collect to go to the state, if you should die short of accomplishing the work.' I suppose you have seen Major W. A. Graham's new book of General Graham's Revolutionary papers. I note, he says that when Judge Murphey's historical mss. were finally located after his death, it was discovered that 'the lady of the house' had burned them up as rubbish. I cannot understand why steps were not taken immediately after his death to preserve them. Can you tell me of any other data prepared for him except that of Gen. Graham and where it is now? My letters came from the Kirkland residence, in Hillsboro, and so they escaped the fate of the others. How they got there I have not ascertained, and my friend, the autograph dealer, tells me that a number of the letters of Gen. Jethro Sumner, which passed through his hands, came from the same place. These I have date from 1801, when he was at the university, to the last years of his life.

"There was a second memorial in 1827, with regard to his history. The letters establish it beyond a doubt. It seems, too, that he published a circular addressed to voters, declaring his political views in the congressional election of 1827, when he ran against Gen. Barringer. * * *

"It is my intention to publish all letters that have historical interest, together with what I can learn concerning the man himself."

Very truly yours,

W. HENRY HOYT.

SOUTHERN EDUCATION CONFERENCE.—During April and May Mr. Edward Ingle, Baltimore, Md., contributed some very critical letters to the *Charleston News and Courier* on the work of the Conference for Education in the South, which is under the presidency of Mr. Robert C. Ogden, John Wannamaker's partner in New York. Mr. Ingle gathered a mass of evidence which he most capably set forth showing the need of educational missionary labors in various localities such as Boston, Connecticut, New York and Philadelphia. Rather sarcastically he suggested something about charity beginning at home. The whole series is a very able presentation of views against the wisdom and propriety of this movement for elevating the South.

ITALIANS IN SOUTHERN COTTON FIELDS.—A most significant statement is that contained in the *Manufacturers' Re-*

cord, Baltimore, April 7, last, from the Honorable LeRoy Percy, Greenville, Miss., to the effect that he has tried Italians on a large plantation in Arkansas with the greatest success. Some have been there for a number of years, and have thriven so much that a number of their friends have come from Italy from time to time to join them. He says they make a profit of \$5.00 out of the crop where the negro makes one. Still there is no clash between the two elements nor is there any tendency to race mixture. He is convinced that with proper management these Europeans can be brought in gradually to supersede the negro without hindering industry by the change. These results seem to promise a solution of the race problem though of course considerable time would be required for making the substitution.

THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE UNITED CONFEDERATE VETERANS was successfully held in Nashville, Tenn., June 14-16, with an attendance of some 30,000 from the outside of members and friends. The orator of the occasion, on the fourteenth, was Rev. Dr. R. H. McKin, of Washington, D. C., with formal addresses by Gov. J. B. Frazier, of Tennessee, and Gen. S. D. Lee, of Mississippi. The sponsors were not so much in evidence as formerly because by resolution of the managing committee beforehand it was decided that the expenses of these ladies could not any longer be borne by the locality in which the meeting was held. The usual memorial services to Jefferson Davis and to the confederate dead were held. Bishop Gailor, of the Episcopal Diocese of Tennessee, was the speaker at the former, on the fourteenth, and Judge Thos. G. Jones at the latter, on the fifteenth. It is hoped to dedicate the Davis monument in Richmond in 1906 on the annual occasion then. On the business side, Adj. Gen. W. E. Mickle reported a total of 1563 camps, with expenses of the year at \$5,662, and with a reduction of the debt from \$2,375 to \$750, showing excellent financial management by this new officer. Reso-

lutions were adopted urging that Confederate graves in Northern states be cared for by the general Government, with an appropriation of \$200,000 from Congress for that purpose; that a home be erected in Richmond, Va., for needy Confederate women; that a committee be appointed, at the request of the Alabama Daughters of the Confederacy, to revise the words of Dixie though there was considerable opposition to this but it was done out of courtesy to the women.

For the first time in the history of the society, the Sons of Confederate Veterans sat with the older body, and also held their regular sessions to themselves. They are rather lame on the executive side as they report 481 camps with only 104 in good standing, with a total cash surplus of the year of \$13.00. They will hereafter have charge of the movement for erecting a monument to southern women to cost \$50,000 of which there are \$3,500 already in cash and \$5,000 in subscriptions. It is practically decided that they will have headquarters in New Orleans with a permanent secretary. One of the most active members, Thos. M. Owen, Montgomery, Ala., presented the history report, in which he spoke of the happy fraternal spirit on the part of Northern historians of the Civil War. The different organizations chose officers as follows:

CONFEDERATE VETERANS:

Commander-in-Chief, Lieut. Gen. Stephen D. Lee, of Columbus, Miss.

Commander of the Department of Northern Virginia, Gen. G. Irvine Walker, of Greenville, S. C.

Commander of the Department of Tennessee, Gen. Clement A. Evans, of Atlanta, Ga.

Commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department, Gen. W. L. Cabell, of Dallas, Tex.

The association of medical officers of the army and navy of the Confederacy: President, Dr. John S. Cain, of Nashville; First Vice-President, Dr. J. D. Plunkett, of Nashville; Second Vice-President, Dr. D. H. Key, of Monroe, La.; Third Vice-President, Dr. William Martin, of Kingston, Ky., and Fourth Vice-President, Dr. Peter B. Bocat, of Florence, S. C.

The survivors of the Confederate navy: Capt. H. B. Littlepage, of Washington, D. C., as commander in succession to Commander Dabney H. Scales, of Memphis, and elected Capt. W. F. Clayton, of Florence, S. C., Secretary.

SONS OF VETERANS:

Commander-in-Chief, N. R. Tisdale, Fort Worth, Tex.
Commander of the Army of Northern Virginia, John J. Davis, Louisville, Ky.
Commander of the Department of Tennessee, R. E. L. Bynum, Jackson, Tenn.
Commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department, C. A. Skean, Wapato, Texas.

There were two exercises for all the branches in attendance at Nashville, the ball on the night of the fifteenth and the parade on the morning of the sixteenth. The latter was fully equal to the general expectations as of course this feature comes less and less prominent with the rapid thinning of the ranks year after year.

Two very pleasant instances of the decay of all sectional feeling was the presence of the band of the Seventh U. S. Cavalry and the exchange of greetings with the Wisconsin Grand Army Camp in session at the same time. Through the beautiful singing of "My Old Kentucky Home" by Miss Mary E. Ewell, of Norfolk, Va., Louisville was chosen as the place of the next meeting.

JAMESTOWN EXPOSITION.—As an aid to the proposed Jamestown Exposition to be held in 1907 as the Tercenary celebration of the first English settlement in this country, the Norfolk *Dispatch* has issued a solid magazine edition, of nearly 200 pages, comprehensively reviewing the life and industry of the locality with the surrounding points. It is proposed to have the exposition, not at Jamestown, but at the mouth of the river near Norfolk. It is the aim to get a large appropriation from Congress and this now seems very likely to be done.

LOCAL HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—In the summer of 1903 the Pee-dee Historical Association was formed in South Carolina, at Darlington, to prepare a complete history of the section of this historic stream. It is aimed to do this by republishing Gregg's History of the old Cheraws with a supplement to the present. J. L. Cooper, Hartsville, is President, and John J. Dargan, Clyde, is Secretary.

RECONSTRUCTION DOCUMENTS.

CHAMPAIGN, ILL., May 19, 1904.

Have the opinions of "Heads of Departments" referred to in Bates' letter to Doolittle, pp. 145-146 of March, 1904, number of Southern Hist. Assn. Publications, ever been published? If not (or anyhow) could you not publish them from public or private sources in the "Publications," referring back to the above letter. I should be intensely interested in reading them. Could you not give Bates' and Chase's "opinions" or at least give references where they might be found?

A SUBSCRIBER.

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PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
SOUTHERN HISTORY ASSOCIATION.

VOL. VIII.

SEPTEMBER, 1904.

No. 5

CONSERVATIVES AND RENEGADES IN TEXAS
REVOLUTION—DOCUMENTS, 1835.

[Like all great human movements, the Texas Revolution had its intense conservatives, or peace party, who tried to bring about adjustment of some sort without conflict. The two leading representatives of this element were Edward Gritten and D. C. Barrett. Unfortunately there were some deserters, also, from the Texas side, James H. C. Miller being, perhaps, the most prominent. Some of the following documents have already been published, but they seem worthy of reissue, as the previous source, a newspaper, is not readily accessible, and besides they aid in illuminating the others now first published.]

BARRETT AND GRITTEN TO COS.

BEXAR, *August 9, 1835.*

* * * You have already the notice of our mission to this commandancy as a canal of communication to the General Government from the Political Chief of the Brazos. And thus it is that the object of this communication is to let you know that in spite of the great desire that we have to come and destroy in your mind, and through you, in the mind of

the General Government, the idea which you have formed that the unlawful proceedings of certain citizens of Texas came from the majority, we are now sorry to inform you that our departure will not take place until Mr. Gritten returns from San Felipe. The object of his journey is to get instructions sufficiently extensive to cover all cases that may arise, or may be considered as belonging to our mission, which is to solidify the work of conciliation, interrupted before, but which we rejoice to see from the last advices directed by you to Colonel Ugartechea, has begun again. You may well believe that all the Texans are not revolutionists, nor bad, and that the greater part of them are pacific, and we desire very much to confirm personally this assertion. And that we will have the honor to do as soon as Mr. Gritten comes to the Mission La Bahia on his return from San Felipe. In the meantime we anticipate an interview by means of this communication in the hope that it may serve to predispose you in favor of our mission, which is to promote the best interests of Texas, and to preserve with the supreme Federal Government the good understanding that ought to exist in an advantageous manner between the Texans and the other integral parts of the Republic.

God and Liberty.

D. CARLOS BARRETT,
EDUARDO GRITTEN.

(From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.)

CARBAJAL TO FELIPE SMITH.

July 4, 1835.

Senor Don Felipe Smith:

DEAR SIR: On the 15th I arrived here in great haste (*apresurado*). Things in the interior are in a great confusion. The Government and a part, if not all, of the permanent deputation, &c., are prisoners, because they tried to come to Texas and to be free from the military intervention of the

supreme authorities of this State. Our only hope as well as that of the whole Nation depends upon the intrepidity of the free, and enlightened and noble resolution of the people of Texas. The liberties which our fathers gave us are now usurped by the military despots; and the rights and privileges of citizenship of those not fortunate enough to have been born in the republic have been destroyed by acts of the general Congress. Thus goes our political world—the strong man has justice on his side. I hope to see you soon.

J. M. CARBAJAL.

J. W. Smith and Judge Chambers:

GENTLEMEN: The preceding is a true copy of a letter addressed to this place by General Stapp, of La Vaca, and if it is necessary, Mr. George, of this municipality, may secure you a copy with a certificate, showing that it was copied from the original by N. H. Perkins. I have not been able yet to see said gentlemen, but I will do so if it is necessary in the future.

JAMES H. C. MILLER.

4th July, 1835.

(From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.)

GRITTEN TO UGARTECHEA.

GONZALES, July 5, 1835.

To Colonel Don Domingo de Ugartechea, Bexar:

MY DEAR FRIEND: Here goes the post in accordance with your desire. According to what Dr. Miller has told me, you want me to give you a description of public opinion in this district; and I shall also indicate to you the rumors that circulate here. This I do, thinking to render a service to my country. And I shall be very happy if I am able to avert in this part of the republic fighting and blood shedding, which would be regrettable as much for the nation in general as for Texas in particular.

The inhabitants of this municipality and of that of Mina are very much against the measure adopted by the men of San Felipe, and condemn them, protesting their desire to live in tranquility and in peace with their brothers, the Mexicans, with whom they by no means wish to have war, on account of the bad consequences it would have. By what I have observed and the conclusions that I have drawn, the greater part of the colonists desire to avoid any breaking up with the Government; but it seems to me that all of them will oppose the entrance of troops. Such a measure would be alarming and provocative of revolution. If the executive could adopt a conciliatory conduct it would meet the support of the same portion of Texas—which is truly numerous—and would be able then to carry forward the establishment of the custom houses. At the same time a more equitable tariff and other reforms ought to be granted to them. * * * I believe that the department of Brazos alone is in favor of the decree authorizing the selling of the 400 leagues (*sitios*) of vacant lands, because since my coming out of that department I have heard much disapprobation of the decree.

It is said, and it is probably true, that there is in the bay an Anglo-American ship of war with the express object of capturing the national sloop Montezuma wherever she is found, be it in another sea or be it anchored in Mexican waters. I very much fear that it is true, for the reason that an American was killed at Anahuac by the military commandant. It is said positively that an expedition is going to start from San Felipe for the purpose of avenging their companion's death.

I have also heard here another rumor which in the light of what has already happened may be true. According to it, the men of San Felipe have caught two Mexicans, bearers of dispatches to the commandant of Anahuac, and they discovered by their contents that the principal commandant of Bexar was urging the other to maintain himself firm in his position under the promise of being reinforced, because they

were going to dispatch troops with that object. It seems that the two Mexicans, when taken, handed the dispatches to a young man who knew both English and Spanish to take care of them; but the Americans, knowing this, threw themselves on the young man and by violent means compelled him to give the dispatches up.

In the service of my country I have worked much to convince this part of Texas of the convenience of keeping order; that the supreme Government has no intention of sending troops to attack them, and that their constitutional reclamation will be heard by you and by the Government.

The things that I have mentioned will very probably prevent my passing through San Felipe on account of the risk which I should run of being apprehended and treated as a spy of the Government. Nevertheless, I should like before taking any steps concerning the soldier Ximenes to find out more positively whether I should run this risk, therefore I suspend my decision as yet for more consideration, and until I get more information.

All that I write here is for your private information, because if others knew it, it would occasion me a great deal of inconvenience in the colony.

I am respectfully your friend,

EDWARD GRITTEN.

P. S.—Before I start from this place I shall write you again. It has rained a great deal, and for the present I am detained by the weather. In order to destroy the bad effects of the specious reversions given by those who wish to provoke the people of Texas to revolution, assuring them that a Mexican army is coming to devastate their fields and exterminate all the Anglo-Americans, I believe it would be expedient for the supreme Government and the military commanders to say publicly and officially that such intentions do not exist, and that no preparations of that nature are being made. For I repeat that, considering the good sense of many

of the inhabitants of this country, all that can be done to content them by conciliatory measures should be done, one of which would be a frank publication of the intention of the Government in respect to Texas; and their intention to send no troops to Texas.

(From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.)

JAMES KERR TO CHAMBERS.

GONZALES, July 5, 1835.

Colonel T. J. Chambers:

MY DEAR SIR: I received the letter that you wrote to Dr. Miller and also the one that you wrote to Mr. Smith, and I have had communication with Mr. Gritten, and all corresponds to what I had received before.

The Doctor participates to you all the news that we have from San Felipe. Williams, Johnson, Carbajal, Bowie and others cry, "Wolf, wolf, condemnation, destruction, war, to arms, to arms!" Williams says, "I have bought a few leagues of land from the Government; but if they don't bring the Governor to Bexar, I shall not be able to get my titles." What a pity; and with his terrible tales I am astonished to see that they have had the cleverness to excite some persons of that colony to a high degree.

In regard to those delinquents against the laws of the country and against honor and morality who were concerned in the illicit buying and selling of the 650 sitios of land in Monclova, there is not, in my opinion, in all the country one single person with the exception of the interested ones who would wittingly seek his own ruin in order to save thousands like Williams and the others. But they have been able perhaps to deceive many persons and make them believe that *an army is coming to destroy their properties and annihilate their rights in Texas.*

Carbajal has taken flight to San Felipe. When he passed through my neighborhood he spoke with words full of alarm;

but the inhabitants of La Vaca and Navidad are inclined to attend to their ranches and estates, and they say that if the Government wishes to seize those criminals and collect the legal duties in its custom houses it may do so. It is my opinion that if an armed force were sent to Texas it would be very prejudicial and ruinous to the nation. Imagine for a moment the number of officers—to say nothing of the soldiers—who would fall under the fire of the muskets. Nevertheless, a war would inevitably be disastrous for Texas, and what would the nation not lose by it! Imagine it yourself, some 20,000 or 30,000 men. What, all that for some ten rascals who have fraudulently taken from the Government and from the towns 650 sites of land? God forbid such a thing!

I start from here to-morrow for my home, and I shall take great pleasure in receiving news from you frequently.

Try to visit me when you come.

Your friend,

SANTIAGO KERR

Translated [into Spanish], Bexar, July 6, 1835.

JEFFERSON CHAMBERS.

(From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.)

GRITTEN TO UGARTECHEA.

GONZALES, July 6, 1835.

*Colonel Don Domingo de Ugartechea, General Commandant
of Texas and Bexar:*

DEAR SIR:

I had the honor yesterday to send you a letter by conduct of the soldier Valenzuela, and now, in view of the news that I have just received, I send the present letter by conduct of Ximenes, whom I have judged prudent:

An American, Captain McCoy, arrived this morning from Rio Colorado, whence he started yesterday, and brought the news that a Mexican had been killed there by an American

who took him for a spy; but in spite of their search they did not find any papers on him. It seems that that district is greatly alarmed because they have been made to believe that troops are already on their way to exterminate them.

Of what has happened at Anahuac, it is only reported that an expedition of Americans has started from San Felipe to attack that commandancy. There is much agitation in Texas, resulting from the alarming rumors which are with evil intentions circulated among its inhabitants; but I am sure that the sane part of the inhabitants do not wish to break with the Mexicans, but wish to preserve peace and union with them. And the affairs of Texas may be improved by means of these very inhabitants, for if they were assured by the competent authorities that there is no intention to send troops to attack them, all would be quiet. I have been informed that many who have reason declare that if what has been said to them about the troops is not true, they themselves will seek the authors of the resolution and punish them as examples. Have the kindness, in view of order and peace, to allow me to assure them in your name that troops are not coming, and I am sure that all the trouble will cease.

I shall wait here for your answer, and I hope it will be satisfactory for the welfare of the inhabitants.

It is debated here to hold a meeting for the purpose of manifesting disapproval of the acts of San Felipe; and to proclaim their adhesion to the supreme government, *provided troops are not sent to them*.

Ximenes will accompany Messrs. Borman and Anderson, whom I recommend to your protection.

Your friend and obedient servant,

EDWARD GRITTEN.

P. S.—Not having had time to take a copy of this I hope you will have the kindness to remit one to me for my justification, if it should be necessary.

(From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.)

UGARTECHEA TO COS.

BEXAR, *July 7, 1835.*

.....The enclosed copies of the letters of the Co. Edward Gritten and the other foreigners—the first addressed to myself and the others to Mr. Thomas Chambers and to the citizen Smith—whose originals as well as their translations I have been given, will inform you of the true state of affairs and of the opinions of the colonists.

By a copy of the letter of the said Mr. Gritten you will see that the corporal that I sent with the letters for Anahuac was obliged to hand over the other letters which were addressed to Captain Don Antonio Tenorio; and that he and another soldier who accompanied him are prisoners in San Felipe. I am expecting new communications from Don Edward, in which he may tell me where the letters are. I have allowed to this individual who has constantly behaved himself with loyalty and good faith, a soldier to accompany him to San Felipe with instructions to investigate the resting place of the said corporal and dispatches; and to try to get the latter forwarded safely to Anahuac, or, if he found that dangerous, to return them to me by the soldier who accompanies him. As soon as I receive his new communications I shall participate them to you.

The letters marked with the numbers 1 and 2 are written by J. M. Carbajal and by the foreigner Bowie. They are alarming and have certainly alarmed with their false news the colonists. And in order to destroy their bad impressions and to try to induce more pacific ideas, and to preserve the public order, I have directed to the Political Chiefs of San Felipe and Nacogdoches the communication which appears under number 3. But as it appears that the Chief of San Felipe is one of those compromised in the alarm, I doubt that it will have a good effect.

From all this there results the necessity that this com-

mandancy should have under its orders a respectable force, because it will not be possible in any other way to avoid the evils which threaten us, and which you know ought to be prevented, opportunely giving your orders for the coming of the regular companies of New Leon, which were temporarily yet at Monclova, the 22nd of last month, while until now they have no news of the Battalion of Morelos.

(From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.)

WRITTEN TO UGARTECHEA.

GONZALES, July 7, 1835.

To Colonel Don Domingo de Ugartechea, Principal Commandant of Texas and Bexar.

MY DEAR SIR: Day before yesterday I wrote to you by conduct of the soldier Ximenes, and now I do so by an extraordinary express (Mr. M'Coy, an American,) dispatched by the Alcalde from this town with the document which is sent to Mr. Chambers, who, as usual, will show it to you. It was considered of sufficient importance to warrant its transmissal by this means. Said paper contains the expression of the feelings that animate the inhabitants of the district of Columbia, and there also accompanies it a list of resolutions which deserve consideration; for they show that even in the immediate neighborhood of San Felipe there are many people of sense who condemned the proceedings of the people of that town and wish, as I have already said, to keep order and maintain peace and union with the Mexicans. They protested against all acts of violence; against those who have refused to pay the maritime duties, denouncing them as foreigners; and finally declare their adhesion to the general government. A reaction is beginning against the disturbers of the public order.

To send troops into Texas would be a measure whose consequences might be tremendous; because their arrival

would be a confirmation of all the rumors spread by the revolutionists, and would unite all patriots and would introduce the seed of permanent discord between the Mexicans and colonists.

(From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.)

WRITTEN TO UGARTECHEA.

GONZALES, *July 9, 1835.*

MY DEAR SIR: I had the honor to address you a letter dated the 7th of this month which goes by this opportunity, having been detained with the object of giving you notice of what would happen in this town, which, I hope, will be pleasing to you.

Yesterday at 6 o'clock in the afternoon a soldier arrived with your communication, enclosing two officios for the Political Chiefs of the departments of the Brazos and Nacogdoches, which I shall carry to their destination. I have had the pleasure to participate to this neighborhood the contents of your esteemed communications; and I have also the pleasure to notify you that they have been received with the greatest satisfaction. Their minds are consequently more tranquil, and I think that they will return to their occupations convinced that the Mexicans do not intend to come to cut off their heads as they had been made to believe. I shall be very happy if my information and efforts produce the same effects in the other parts of the country.

But my dear friend, I will tell you without disguise, that if more troops come to Texas than are sufficient to put detachments in the ports and to control the Indians—although the colonists would rather abstain from receiving this benefit by means of troops quartered among them,—or if said troops should come with a different object, then the tranquility of Texas would be compromised, and all of the inhabitants would vote to oppose what would appear an invasion, or an attack or an intention to subject them by force.

The state of inquietude in which Texas is, disposes the colonists to listen with attention to what is said to them; viz: that the supreme general government is trying to sell Texas; and that Almonte carries to Washington the proposition and necessary instructions. With benevolent measures, the passions of the people may be calmed, which could not be done by using force, for who knows what might result on the part of our neighbors the English? This municipality and that of Mina are working as hard as they can to try to banish the bad impression caused by the lack of confidence, and they have spread in different sections copies of your communications and of the act that these neighbors have raised. I do not doubt that all these steps will be successful; and I intend for the good of this country to help second them, although my personal safety will be endangered; for I have fears of personal violence from the citizens of San Felipe.

A copy of the said act goes directed to the Alcalde of Bexar, who, as usual, will let you see it; and the others go to his Excellency the President by way of Senor de Cos. He has engaged himself to show that after a discourse pronounced by me recommending order and tranquility, and showing the benevolent intentions of the legislature, the committee proceeded to form a set of resolutions against the proceedings of the citizens of San Felipe. You will send a copy that I will remit to you, having given the necessary orders to take a copy. ,

For the present there is nothing more to communicate to you until my arrival at San Felipe. I think it, nevertheless, expedient to inform you that the Texans wish to convert themselves into a state; and in view of the last happenings at Monclova, such a desire is very natural, and is the consequence of a very strong cause. It is also necessary to let

you know that the meeting which took place here is distinct from the convention whose project follows.

(From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.)

GRITTEN TO COS *via* UGARTECHEA.

GONZALES, *July 11, 1835.*

MY DEAR SIR: I am very sorry to tell you that the news which I gave you, that the citizens of San Felipe had done nothing against Anahuac, has not come true. It is already positively known that a number (not specified) of men went from the town of San Felipe to Anahuac, and having obliged its commander to capitulate, compelled him to surrender the port, allowing him to retain arms for only twelve soldiers. The troops have been transferred to San Felipe whence they are trying, I believe, to dispose their journey to Matamoras.

There is a project of a convention in terms that prevent the resolution taken in Columbia from going into effect. The plan is to establish a provisional government for Texas, or to take measures that will result in that. The project gains partisans, and it seems that the different parties, thinking that thus they can gain what they desire, have united to carry it forward. They desire to erect themselves into a state.

The Political Chief of the Brazos has sent an officio under date of the first of this month and received by this municipality yesterday in which he orders it to arrange the meeting in Mina (Bastrop) for the first of next August; to send twenty-five armed men to help defend the country against the Indians and any kind of invaders; and to send also three delegates to the meeting which will take place in San Felipe on the first of next August, with the aim, as I have already said, of forming a provisional government for Texas, &c. The municipality must also name a commission to raise funds by subscriptions to buy arms, munitions, &c. I send

enclosed a copy in English which I have not had time to translate into Spanish, because I shall start to-morrow for Nacogdoches. I have no intention of passing San Felipe, since the letter for the Political Chief of the Brazos will be carried in a safe way.

It is sure that they are building on the Colorado and on the neck of the bay wooden forts (block houses). An American was wounded at Anahuac, but he did not die as has been reported. All the inhabitants of Texas protest against the conduct of the land speculators, but they will unite themselves unanimously against the Mexicans.

Williams was in Brazoria with an officio, they say, for the United States of the North. The colonists believed what had been told them, that 2,000 horsemen were coming by sea, while their horses came by land to attack them.

I conclude in haste, because Smith's companion is hurrying me.

(From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.)

EDWARD GRITTEN.

Very confidential to Cos through Ugartechea.

COS TO UGARTECHEA.

MATAMORAS, *July 13, 1835.*

I have had in my possession the letters and copies that you sent me with your note of the 7th of the current month, and I have remitted all to the supreme government, because the orders which must be fulfilled must come from there. In the meanwhile I repeat the orders that I have already communicated to you.

The note that you sent to the Political Chiefs of the Brazos and Nacogdoches has my approval and I have no doubt that it will gain the best results.

Send immediately to their destinations the letters that accompany this, taking convenient measures for their safe arrival.

(From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.)

J. H. C. MILLER¹ TO JOHN W. SMITH.

GONZALES, *July 4, 1835.*

Mr. John W. Smith.

SIR: You know how I am surrounded by duties, and for that reason I hope you will excuse me for not having written to-day to Colonel Chambers. The said letter together with another of the same kind I enclosed to Chambers. You will see them. Various inflammatory rumors circulate in the papers, and the Chief and Alcalde of San Felipe, it seems, have united themselves to the plan. But they will see their plans frustrated. Observe what I say, *the die is cast*. The convention will concentrate the opinions of the country, and the excitement is now lacking to re-animate the difficulty. Write to me. I shall not lose any opportunity to do the same to you.

As I have said before, imperious circumstances have prevented me before, but rest assured it has not been through indifference to the fate of my adopted country. Find out everything.

Respectfully your friend,

JAMES H. C. MILLER.

(From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.)

¹Described by Brown, I—302, as "a tory and a traitor." Brown was happy not to know which State of the United States was responsible for Miller's birth. Miller left Texas when he saw the revolution was going to be successful.

J. H. C. MILLER TO CHAMBERS.

GONZALES, July 4, 1835.

Mr. T. J. Chambers.

DEAR SIR: I have received your letter by the Mexican Junta, with that of Mr. Smith of the same date, 3rd of the current month. I enclosed a copy of the letter that you asked me for together with another that may not be out of place here.

The capitulation (*negociado*) of Anahuac has come out of that nest of sedition and disorder, San Felipe. And it is to be feared that it will provoke a war pernicious to all Texas. General indignation exists against those who have excited it by their wicked instigations; and there is on foot a project to have a meeting (not in San Felipe) with the object of protesting against this daring mixing in the business of the country. It is the opinion of many that having got themselves into the difficulty, their plan is to try to rush the people of Texas to commit actions which will prevent them from withdrawing from trouble themselves as they would like to do.

The convention, if it succeeds in taking place, will try only to find out what is demanded of Texas by the general government; and if it is only their desire to apprehend the criminal and offensive persons and to establish the custom house, it will not be necessary to send troops for that. But I truly fear what would happen if the troops should come here, and their object should be known. What do you think of the plan? The people earnestly desire to adhere to the constitutional government; but the general opinion is that 10,000 men would not be enough to subject this state in case of hostilities. But war brings ruin to any country, and particularly when it is not necessary.

SANTIAGO H. C. MILLER.

P. S.—J. W. Bunton, of Mina; Don Santiago Kerr, General Stapp, of La Vaca; and some other persons of eminence are here now, and thus I do not speak for myself alone. Copies of your letter are going to be sent to different points of this department.

Translation [Spanish], Bexar, July 6, 1835.

(From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.)

JEFFERSON CHAMBERS.

MILLER TO THE PUBLIC.

FELLOW CITIZENS: In placing before you the above correspondence and my proclamation as the Political Chief, I deem it my duty to say a few words in explanation of my course. Having no interest separate from the people's interest and no design but to discharge my important duties with honesty, I trust that the public will understand and justify my whole proceedings.

During the late excitement at an early period I received orders as the Political Chief from the Governor of the State, to proceed with men and arms to his rescue. At that time also it was reported that besides the arrest of the Governor and others, an army of some thousand men were then marching to Texas for its subjugation. This request from the Governor of the State, and very unpleasant reports of the day had the same effects on myself that they had on the people generally. We were all overwhelmed with surprise, and for a moment lent an ear to unfounded rumors. In this state of things and in obedience of the legal head of the State, and in obedience of the earnest protestations of a number of influential citizens around me, I proceeded to call on the people to come forward at the request of the Governor. It was not designed by me to proceed to any hostile measures; my inclination was to obey orders, or if reports proved true, defend ourselves.

At a meeting of citizens in July last, I was called to sit as Chairman. My fellow-citizens will readily understand that I sat on that occasion not as a Political Chief, but as any other individual to keep order and perform the ordinary office as Chairman. My call to take the chair cannot even be made to appear as giving sanction to the proceedings of the day. Yet some intimation has been given that inasmuch as I was Chairman of the meeting I have given sanction to all that was done, nay even more, it is asserted that the Political Chief gave order in reference to Anahuac as well as to other matters, which were merely voted on by the citizens assembled at the meeting aforesaid¹ in the first emotions of their surprise. It may appear unlucky that I should have been named to preside at such a meeting, since the duties I had as Political Chief are so responsible and so important; but I fear not for a moment that my motives will be misrepresented by the public.

Fellow citizens, my temper and inclinations have always been for peace. I have no hope but public tranquility and order; I stand before you in the unenviable position of one who loves quiet but who is forced by a high and honorable office into the turmoils and contentions of party.

Having said thus much for myself, allow me to close this appeal to my fellow citizens and friends by expressing the felicity which I feel at the new and happy appearance which our political affairs have assumed. And your Political Chief is happy to be able to proclaim to the world that the people of Texas in general everywhere, and in the most honorable and warm hearted manner, on this as on all former occasions declare themselves grateful to the Mexican Government for the indulgence and various bounties, which they have received. None of the citizens of the Mexican Confederacy can be more attached to the Constitution and

¹This reference seems sufficiently definite to indicate that Miller is mistaken in dating this meeting in July; he is doubtless speaking of the meeting at San Felipe, June 22, 1835.—E. C. B.

peace and order than those of Texas. They feel no inclination to intermeddle with the difficulties of the other States much less with the jealousy of discontented and factious individuals.

Fellow citizens, I shall close with one single suggestion; it is that we always act with caution. The late unnecessary alarm, proceeding out of false information has taught this salutary lesson of caution and moderation. To profit by experience is the high purpose of wisdom; and patriotic wisdom combined with a patriotic attachment to the laws and the love of peace, will be sure in all events to lead to the felicity of each individual and all the citizens of Texas.

J. B. MILLER.

(No date.)

(From *The Texas Republican*, August 8, 1835.)

MILLER TO THE CITIZENS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF BRAZOS.

To the Inhabitants of the Department of Brazos:

FELLOW CITIZENS:

Feeling duly impressed with the importance of the present crisis in the affairs of Texas, and the alarming extent to which anarchy seems likely to prevail, I deem it my duty as the highest constitutional officer of the department, to call upon you in the name of the constitution and laws of the land which we have sworn to support to remain quiet and tranquil. In the present condition of our country it is important that every man should be on the alert, yet it is alike important to the common safety of all that no other orders should be obeyed but those issuing from the proper officers, and that no movement should be made but a common one, in a common cause. I have therefore thought proper to issue this proclamation, commanding and exhorting all the good citizens of this department to remain strictly obedient

to the constitution and laws of the land and to engage in a popular excitement not expressly authorized by this Chief Magistrate.

These orders are necessary to prevent anarchy and confusion, which are the worst enemies that Texas can have. They have been dictated for the general good of the inhabitants and I entertain the most sanguine hopes that they will be obeyed.

God and Liberty.

J. B. MILLER.

July, 1835.

(From *The Texas Republican*, August 8, 1835.)

DOCUMENTS ON ALBEMARLE SOUND AND
RALEIGH INLET.

[From the originals in the Collection of Dr. Stephen B.
Weeks.]

[One of the problems with which eastern North Carolina has always contended is the difficult approach to the sea from Albemarle Sound. This approach is now effected through Oregon and Hatteras Inlets, far to the south. The latter dates only from Sept. 7, 1846. In historical times there was an inlet further north, probably opposite Roanoke Island, but it has filled and disappeared. Such an inlet would be a boon to local commerce and the documents printed herewith have that purpose in view. Other efforts were made at the time of the revival of interest in internal improvements, 1815-35; various government surveys and investigations have been made but all without positive results.]

EDENTON, *18th Sept., 1789.*

TO SAMUEL JOHNSTON.

Dear Sir:

The Committee of Commissioners for improving the navigation of Albemarle Sound have had the honor of receiving your Excellency's letter, together with the papers mentioned in it. They request your Excellency to inform Mr. Conner that they proposed to sett off from Edenton, with all the hands, Implements, Provisions, &c., subscribed here, on Tuesday, the 29th Inst., the vessels from hence will call at Messrs. Skinner's Mills for the flour and bread subscribed by Perquimans. They, therefore, wish that Mr. Knox's vessel may sett off at the same time, with all the hands, Pease, Molasses & beef subscribed by Pasquotank. As the corn will be unfit for use, it will be unnecessary for them to carry down more bread kind, than will be sufficient to support them until they get down, as we shall carry down a sufficiency of these articles, & of old corn ground for the whole. They further request your Excellency to request Mr. Skinner to send the hands subscribed by Perquimans to Nixonton that they may

go down in Mr. Knox's vessel, which will be much more convenient than for the vessels from hence to run up Perquimans for that purpose, at the same time should any of the hands subscribed live near the mills our vessels will take them in when they take on the flour and bread.

We have the honor to be with the utmost respect and esteem, Dr. Sir,

Your most obt.
humble servt,
CHAS. JOHNSON,
JOSIAH COLLINS,
NATH. ALLEN.

N. B.—By Mr. Conner's letter we observe that he is of opinion that he can procure more subscriptions for corn in the winter, which we wish him to accept, as we apprehend it will be necessary to procure a machine for deepening the inside channel whenever the funds can be obtained for that purpose.¹

At a meeting of the Commissioners for improving the Navigation of Albemarle Sound the 8th May, 1789.

Present.

His Excellency Samuel Johnston, Esq.

Josiah Collins,
Charles Johnson,
Demsey Conners,
Thomas Stewart,
Nathl. Allen,
John Skinner.

Ordered That His Excellency Samuel Johnston, Josiah Collins, Thomas Stewart, Charles Johnson, Christ. Clark Lawrence Baker be appointed a Committee to go & view the place where Raleigh Inlet is proposed to be cut & be

¹ On the back this letter was addressed: His Excellency, Samuel Johnston, Esq. Hayes.

ready to make report of their proceedings on or before the 1st day of July next.

The Board then adjourned to the first day of July next, then to meet at Capt. Kok's Tavern in Edenton at the hour of 10 o'clock, and that Notice be given to the Commissioners to attend at that time & place.

SAM. JOHNSTON,
JOSIAH COLLINS,
CHAS. JOHNSON,
DEMSEY CONNER,
THOMAS STEWART,
NATHL. ALLEN,
JOHN SKINNER.

Samuel Johnston, Josiah Collins, Charles Johnson and Christopher Clark, four of the Committee appointed to view the place where Raleigh Inlett is proposed to be cut, and three of the other Commissioners, to wit., Nathaniel Allen, Demsey Conner and Maurice Baum, with several other Gentlemen who were so obliging as to lend their assistance on the occasion, on the third day of June, met on the bank on the Sea Shore near the Nag's Head, and having made such surveys and observations as appeared to them necessary for the information of the Board,

Report

That they find on taking the level of the water of the Sea, with that of the Sound, that the Sea at high water is three feet nine inches higher than the Sound, and fifteen inches lower at ebb tide. The distance across the Beach where they conceive the Inlett ought to be cut, is eight hundred and thirty-six yards, and the course So. 80½ Degrees East. This course is nearly that of the channel from Croatan, the Land from the Sound towards the Sea in the course of the proposed Inlett rises in a very regular ascent for the distance of seven hundred yards, it then rises more suddenly

for about sixty-eight yards, and declines as suddenly towards the Sea. The extreme height of the Land is seven feet six inches higher than the water in the Sound.

The Channel from Croatan is from half a mile to to a mile in Breadth and has from eight to nine feet water until you approach within a mile of Nag's Head. The remaining distance has from seven to five and one-half feet water.

On the Sea Coast the water appears to be bold to the very shore, and has no Shoals or Bars that they could discover.

SAM. JOHNSTON,
CHAS. JOHNSON,
JOSIAH COLLINS,
CHRISTOR. CLARK.

RECONSTRUCTION DOCUMENTS.

[The letters which follow are interesting as showing the trend of the discussion of the burning questions of the times to which they relate. Some of these arguments are novel and unique, if not always convincing. Mr. Collier, for instance, presents quite an original view of constitutional rights with reference to the extension of slavery in the territories of the United States, and with the condition of such an institution on the admission of such territories into the Union as independent States.

Mr. Kennedy's claim regarding the rapid diminution of the negro race on receiving their freedom does not seem to have been verified by the facts. Yet the reasoning of his letter seems quite plausible and just. He is, in fact, a prophet in his contention that freedom would seriously lower the rate of increase. The last census bulletin shows they have fallen behind the whites.

Mr. Burwell, evidently, is a lawyer, for he discusses the meaning and use of words with the knowledge which comes from a study of their ordinary and technical significations. In his reasoning he is undoubtedly right that "reconstruction" assumes that something has been dissolved or destroyed, a view which those who maintained that the States could not withdraw from the Union, freely combated. They would be inclined to agree with his contention that "pacification" of the inhabitants of the seceding States was the proper term. This, I believe, was the view of Judge Doolittle.

The authors of these letters are unknown to the writer, and are, presumably, comparatively unknown citizens. Yet it is evident from a perusal of the letters, that they are intelligent persons and much interested in the right solution of the problems under consideration. The opinions expressed are worthy of a wider audience than can be secured by keeping them filed away among the private correspondence of a deceased United States Senator. The heirs of Judge Doolittle have consented that they appear in print, believing, as they do, that they do honor alike to him to whom they are addressed, and to the respective authors.

DUANE MOWRY,
Milwaukee, Wis.]

PETERSBURG, VA., *Jan'y 21st 1860.*

Hon. Mr. Doolittle,

U. S. Senate.

SIR:

In some of my much reading of the debates in Congress and the speeches elsewhere on the subject of slavery, I think I have lately seen in some one of yours the idea that the dis-

cussion will not have an end until it is settled on the right basis. I agree in that proposition, and I think a settlement of it on the basis of constitutional rights can alone give quiet to the country.

I beg you will consider one or two propositions which I will suggest as forming, in my opinion, the right basis of settlement.

It is in the strength of national sovereignty in respect of foreign relations, that I think it must be conceded by the South, that a majority in the Federal Legislature have the right to inhibit absolutely the African slave trade. However uncertain it may be whether that power of prohibition resides in the one or another or in none of the classes of the Constitution of the United States, I think it will appear to be certain to everybody who will consider that the power is inseparable from national sovereignty, and if it is here, that is enough. The same principle of the original sovereignty of the States is retained by each of them, so that every one that has not negro slavery in it now can forever keep it out, if it will. The principle is inapplicable and does not belong to the people of a territory at any stage of its advances to a State, for the reason that the territory is *common* property, and the Southern citizen has no less right than the Northern to move into and occupy it with his property. If this is not so then it is not *common* property on which all the States have equal rights. Taking it that it is so, whence the power under our system to expel that property which has been carried there? If the people in forming their constitution may expel it, so, as a logical conclusion, I concede the territorial legislature may expel it; and if so, so might the squatters. If it cannot be expelled at any time after getting there, it is only because it is protected to its owners by the Federal Constitution. I cannot see how it is so protected at any one time and not at another. The territory is no less common property, I take it, after it is or-

ganized until the State Constitution is accepted by the Federal Legislature, than it was before it was organized. Then it seems to me (to conclude, without becoming tedious) that the right idea is that, whilst the people in forming a constitution to become a State may provide that no more slaves shall be brought in, they cannot provide that the slaves already there shall be carried out, without thereby violating the Federal rights of the owners and their constitutional rights of property. *No property is or can be in and of itself a nuisance.*

As this letter is not from any impulse of impertinence, but from the purest sentiments of patriotism, I should be gratified, as we of the South would be enlightened, if you would put its thoughts in your next speech, in the way of an answer to the views they inculcate.

With opinions of high consideration, I am,

Your fellow-citizen,

ROBERT R. COLLIER.

WASHINGTON, *March 9, 1866.*

Hon. James R. Doolittle,

Senator U. S.

MY DEAR SIR:

In replying to your inquiry respecting the probable recent past and the future declination of the African race in our midst, I appreciate as well the difficulty of ascertaining the facts of general application, as the danger of hazarding opinions in the present anomalous condition of that people. We know that under the most favorable circumstances, in some portions of our country presenting a free colored population of comparatively virtuous character and used to a condition of freedom, the annual rate of mortality is frequently double the birth rate, and that in the whole country prior to the rebellion, the rate of increase of the free colored population with its accretions from manumissions and es-

capas, was but half that of the slave population, notwithstanding the deductions on these accounts from the latter class. These are incontrovertible truths easily accounted for. All are now free, and as a natural consequence the causes leading to the great death rate of the free colored are intensified, and none who have studied this subject nor any whose opportunities have enabled them to be observant, are in doubt respecting the great mortality, which, of late, has prevailed, and will probably continue among the negro population living at the beginning of the rebellion, have died, while the aggregate number now living is probably 20 per cent. less than in 1861. My condition of health will not allow me to enter upon a basis of calculations, and at present I can do no more than express an opinion, which, I feel confident, results will justify.

While interest had no inconsiderable agency in the causes productive of such remarkable natural increase as has occurred among the slave population beyond that of any other people known to history; and while I doubt not that our white population and that of other countries would have increased much more rapidly if every addition pressed a like intrinsic value, many other causes contributed to their great multiplication, which, being no longer operative, not only insure against increase, but guaranty rapid diminution. At page XI, introduction to the Census of Population (4 to) some views are expressed which may interest you on the subject.

In the showing of the *next Census* touching the effect of the war and emancipation upon the negro race will consist one of its most interesting developments, second only to the consequences of the rebellion in its influence on the dominant race.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, yr. ob. serv't,

JOS. C. G. KENNEDY.

160 Fulton St., N. Y.,
May 16, 1866.

Hon. J. R. Doolittle.

DEAR SIR:

Mr. Fessenden seems to have announced that the debate on Reconstruction will commence next week.

This debate must needs become historical in the highest sense. No friend of constitutional freedom can be an idle spectator. There is much in what you have said during the present session in justification of the position that in the first place, the term "Reconstruction" is a *misnomer*, as applied to this whole subject. The term was first used, you recollect, by Senator Hunter after the secession of South Carolina, when he declared the Union to be broken up, and avowed himself ready to begin the work of "reconstruction." It is a term of secession origin. It assumes the dissolution of the Union, a fact which you have so strenuously & persistently denied. The proper term to be used is *pacification*. This properly expresses the work to be done, and the questions are what departments of the Government are to do the work, and how is it to be done.

You may remember that I suggested to you in a very brief interview of a few weeks ago, that in view of the decision of the Supreme Court in the Prize Cases, of the proceedings in the Convention which formed the Constitution, and of the general principles of public law as stated by Grotius, Pufendorf & Vattel, &c., it seems clear that this whole subject of pacification belongs, by implication, to the President and Senate, and that Congress, as such, has nothing whatever to do with it, which, by the way, seems to be the "well considered opinion" of Prince John. But to make the irregular and aimless action of Congress the more apparent, this irrepressible committee has been created, and their labor is now to be considered in your venerable body.

But if the majority in Congress finally comes to the con-

clusion to absorb and usurp this Executive power of pacification wholly, it would seem to lead to revolution.

The speech of Mr. Howard, of Michigan, a few days since was but an argument in favor of such usurpation.

I do not expect a reply to these suggestions, if even you shall spend time to read them. But if anything has been said in debate in illustration of the position here taken has escaped my notice, and may I ask your Clerk to send me anything of the kind which has appeared?

Yours truly,

T. BURWELL.

ORDERS OF VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY OF DEC. 8, 1769.

[As seen below these "orders" were sent to George Wythe by Jacob Bruce. There is no date on the letter, which was found in the correspondence of James Duane. For this material the Association is indebted to the kindness of Dr. Thomas Featherstonhaugh, Washington, D. C.]

Ordered, that no member absent himself from the service of the House, unless he have leave, or be sick and unable to attend.

Ordered, that whenever the House is to attend the Governor in the Council Chamber the several Passages be cleared of strangers, so that the members may freely pass; and that no member shall go into, or come out of, the Council Chamber before the Speaker.

Ordered, that no member chew tobacco in the House, while the Speaker is in the chair, or in a Committee of the whole House.

Ordered, that when any member is about to speak in Debate, or deliver any matter to the House, he shall rise from his seat and without advancing from thence, shall, with due Respect address himself to Mr. Speaker, confining himself strictly to the point in debate, and avoiding all indecent and disrespectful language.

Ordered, that no member speak more than twice in the same Debate without leave.

Resolved, that a Question being once determined, must stand as the judgment of the House, and cannot again be drawn into Debate during the same session.

Ordered, that while the Speaker is putting any Question, none shall entertain private discourse, stand up, walk into, out of, or across the House, or read any printed Book.

Ordered, that no member shall vote on any Question, in the event of which he is immediately interested; nor in any

other case, where he was not present when the Question was put by the Speaker, or by the Chairman in any Committee.

Resolved, that every member who shall be in the House when any Question is put, shall, on a division, be counted on the one side or the other.

Ordered, that each day before the House proceed on any other business, the Clerk do read the orders for taking any matters into consideration that day; as

Ordered, that all Bills be read and dispatched in Priority and order of Time as they were brought in, unless the House shall direct otherwise in particular cases.

Ordered, that the Clerk of this House suffer not any Records or Papers to be taken from the Table, or out of his Custody, by any member, or other Persons.

Resolved, that besides the Speaker, fifteen members be a sufficient number to adjourn, thirty to call the House, and send for the absent members, * * * make any order for their censure or discharge, and fifty to proceed to other Business.

Ordered, that when the House is to rise, every member keep his seat till the Speaker go out, and then everyone to follow in Order, as he sits.

Ordered, that the Journals of the House be daily drawn up by the Clerk, and, after being examined by the Speaker be printed without delay.

Resolved, that eleven of the Committees for Religion Privileges and Elections, Propositions and Grievances, and five of any other Committee, be a sufficient number to proceed on Business.

Ordered, that no Committee sit to do Business during the time of * * * *

Resolved, that if any Person hath procured himself to be elected, or * * * as a member of the House, or endeavored so to be by bribery or other * * * Practices

this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such Person.

Resolved, that no Petition for controverting the Election of any member returned to serve as a Burgess in any future Assembly, be received by this House unless the same is presented within fourteen days from the time the member intended to be petitioned against, takes his seat in the House.

Resolved, that if any person having a right to vote for two members to serve in the General Assembly shall give a single Vote, such Person hath no Right to give his second Vote during such Election.

Resolved, that where the House shall adjudge any Petition touching Elections to be frivolous and vexatious, the House will order satisfaction to be made to the Person petitioned against.

Resolved, that any member may wave his privilege in any matter of a private nature, without the leave of the House; and, having so done, he shall not, in that instance, resume the same.

Resolved, that any Person shall be at liberty to sue out an original Writ or Subpoena in Chancery, in order to prevent a Bar by the Statute of * * itations, or to file any Bill in Equity, to examine Witnesses thereupon, * * * for the sole purpose of preserving their Testimony against any member of this House, notwithstanding his privilege; provided that the Clerk, after having made out and signed such original Writ, shall not deliver the same to the Party, or to any other, during the continuance of that Privilege.

Resolved, that every person summoned to attend this House, or any Committee thereof, as a Witness in any matter depending before them, be privileged from arrest during his coming to, attending on, or going from the House or Committee; and that no such Witness shall be obliged to attend, until the party at whose request he shall be summoned, do pay, or secure, to him, for his attendance and

traveling, the same allowance which is made to Witnes attending the General Court.

Resolved, that if any Person shall tamper with any Witnesses in respect of their Evidence, to be given to House, or any Committee thereof, or directly or indirectly endeavor to deter or hinder any Person from * * * giving evidence, the same is declared to be a high crime * * * misdemeanor, and this House will proceed with the utmost severity * * * such Offenders.

Ordered, that no Person be taken into custody of the Sergeant at Arms, * * * Complaint of a breach of Privilege, until the matter of such Complaint shall have been examined by the Committee of Privileges and reported to House.

Ordered, that the Sergeants Fees be as followeth: To For taking any person into Custody Thirteen Shillings; every Day he shall be detained in Custody Thirteen shillings For sending a Messenger to take any Person into Custody by a Warrant from the Speaker, sixpence per mile for going, and the same for returning, besides Fees * *

Sir:

The foregoing are the standing Orders of the House of Burgesses as collected the 8th day of December, 1769, having been a little busy with Mr. Tazewell this week he has not had time to examine the Journals since that time, but expects to do it the next week, & if any more shall send them.

Wishing you your health and Mrs. Wythe's, am Sir,

Your very hble Serv^t,

JACOB BRUCE

[On back of above letter appeared the following.]

To

George Wythe, Esq.,
at Mr. Thorns in Chestnut
Street near third Street,
Philadelphia.

Orders of Virginia Assembly of Dec. 8, 1769.

THE DUANE LETTERS.

(Continued.)

PH. SCHUYLER TO JAMES DUANE.

[Summaries, in brackets, inserted by editor.—FEAR OF INDIANS; ADVISES NIAGARA EXPEDITION; ASKS HIS CASE SETTLED; POOR DEFENSES; OFFERS AID.]

ALBANY, *March 15th, 1778.*

DEAR SIR:

Inclose you a letter for Congress under flying seal. If you approve of what I have written you will please to seal and forward it by the bearer. If not, I Intreat you to make such amendments & additions as you may think proper and send it back by the Express.

I really believe that the Enemy will Instigate the Indians in every quarter to attack our frontiers and altho we cannot be certain that they will succeed, I think measures ought to be taken to provide for the safety of the Country. Perhaps an Expedition to Niagara may be a task we are In-

¹Philip Schuyler was born in Albany, N. Y., 1733, and died in 1804. He was well educated and began his active life in 1755 by serving as a Captain in the French and Indian war. He was delegate to the Continental Congress and by this body and on the recommendation of the Provincial Congress of New York he was made one of four major generals of the Continental army. He was most active during the war of the revolution and was a man of great influence in public matters. He was tireless in advocating a canal system uniting the Hudson with Lake Erie and the Hudson with Lake Champlain.

His old home in Albany is still standing on S. Pearl st. and is one of the interesting objects in the old city.

He was a close friend of Judge Duane's and consulted him on every topic of importance as the multitude of letters in this collection show.

adequate to, but If It could be carried into Execution, the Indians would give us little trouble.

Altho I am fully determined not to remain in the army I will nevertheless most willingly give all the assistance in my power to procure whatever may be necessary for an Enterprise against Niagera if Congress should resolve upon it, or any other service I can do my Country as a private Gentleman without fee or any other reward than the satisfaction I shall receive from serving my Country.

I reflect with pleasure that I am largely, My Dear Sir, in your debt for a variety of friendly offices, I wish to be still more so for I believe I am incapable of discharging them by ingratitude or forgetting the obligation. I intreat you therefore, if you can with propriety, to write a line to Congress, and to some of your friends, members thereof, and to paint with the feelings of a friend the distress of my situation and to recommend a speedy determination with regard to me.

I have received a very obliging letter from Gen. Parsons since my return from Johnstown; he Expresses great anxiety for the Safety of the river, laments that the Fortifications are so inadequate to its defense, and intreats my aid in directions for building Gun Boats.

You may be assured he shall have it, and I hope they will be begun to be built in the Course of this week.

I hope you had the happiness to find Mrs. Duane & all the Family well, my best wishes attend them.

I am Dr Sir
Affectionately & Sincerely,
Your most obedient
Humble Servant,
PH: SCHUYLER.

Honorable James Duane, Esq^r.

SCHUYLER TO JAMES DUANE.

[EXPECTS ACQUITTAL.]

FREDERICKSBURGH, *Octo. 4th, 1778.*

Well, my Dear friend, who is it that forgets to write now. Four letters have I written to you, and received only one, but I must confess that was worth ten such as I have sent. My tryal commenced on thursday and concluded on Saturday last. my defence consisted chiefly in a detail of facts with very few remarks and those in the style of a certain memorial, not a single angry word has escaped me. If I have the happiness of living a little longer with you I shall become the meekest man of the age, and I shall by no means believe that a misfortune; I begin to make comparisons between what I was and what you have made. In proportion as I conquer the unhappy propensity to anger which enslaved me I feel myself a happier and I hope a better man. If Congress speedily approves of the sentence of the court-martial I shall take my command in the Army (you see I believe myself acquitted), and close the Campaign and then for the Luxury of private life, which becomes every day more Inviting.

Where this will find you I know not, perhaps with Congress. If so, I shall sooner know their Sense of the proceedings of the Court than if you were at home. I have not been favored with a line from D— Morris or Lewis since my arrival with the Army.

* * * If he sees you as he will If * * * * *
will give you all the News If he can procure any I have
none—

God Bless you and Yours,

I am

Dear Sir affectionately

& Sincerely your

obedient ———

——— SCHUYLER.

To the Hon. James Duane, Esq^r.

PH. SCHUYLER TO JAMES DUANE.

[GLORIOUS FRENCH HELP; NEED OF HOME EXERTION; WEAKNESS OF CONGRESS; URGES DICTATOR OR SMALL COMMITTEE; CLINTON LIKELY TO LEAVE CHARLESTOWN.]

MORRISTOWN, *May 13, 1780.*

DEAR SIR:

The Marquis De La Fayette is so good as to take charge of this; he will announce to Congress (if the dispatches he has forwarded from hence have not already done it) the Glorious exertion of the King his Master in our favor. The ample succor that prince has sent, the terms on which the extensive power given us to direct the force of our Illustrious ally all combine to evince the most determined resolution in France effectually to Support us. But, my Dear Sir, what must be the feelings of this Generous Ally, what the reflections of every observant power in Europe, if we do not improve this succour to the advantages it is capable of. If we do not in some quarter make such an Impression on the Enemy as to give conviction at home and abroad that Britain must of necessity relinquish the contest, will it not too evidently Evince that we want the means of Exertion, or the wisdom to apply those Means. I think it will, and that our cause will be materially Injured and that of the enemy promoted. We shall lose friends, they will gain them. If ~~these~~ reflections have any weight it is Incumbent on us to Strain every nerve for a Spirited co-operation, the Country is far, very far, from being destitute of the necessary Supplies, the means to draw them forth are also within our reach, but not in the ordinary way. If we trust to that we shall inevitably lose an opportunity which may never again offer, and the reflection on which will most assuredly destroy the happiness of our lives.

Extraordinary cases require extraordinary remedies and exertions. A degree of inertia pervades all popular bodies, they are unequal to that celerity so requisite to the effectual

prosecution of Military operations, perhaps Congress labours in a greater degree under this misfortune than any popular body that ever existed at the head of an Empire. By invariably holding up to the States that it had only a Recommendatory power, they have been taught to pay little attention to any decision of Congress, but it is for the weal of the Empire that they should assume, or even take new powers. The present occasion will Justify it; and I most sincerely wish they may not lose the opportunity. A little reflection must convince every one that the more speedily (after the Arrival of the French force) we begin to operate, the Greater will be the prospect of Success. To allow six weeks from this, for that arrival is giving competent time.

In that six weeks how much is to be done, what a variety of necessarys to be procured, what force to be prepared. Indeed, my friend, so much must be done that Congress cannot in time make even the necessary resolutions unless they reduce them to one, which shall lodge dictatorial powers either in the Commander in Chief, or in him, conjointly with a small Committee of Congress. Should the latter be adopted it will be necessary to Choose men of abilities and consideration, but as that cannot always be done and that there is a necessity of temporizing would it not be well to put Elsworth on it, as so many supplies must be drawn from and thro the State he represents; I wish one of you to be another, and if possible Jones from Virginia a third.

When Sir Henry Clinton receives the account of the French forces coming to America he will in all probability raise the siege of Charles Town if he has not taken it, In order to concentrate his force at N. York or at any other point against which he may suppose our operations will be directed, he will do the same if Charles Town is taken, only leaving a Garrison there. In either case it appears unnecessary that the Maryland troops should prosecute their March

to South Carolina as their Services will be lost, would it not therefore be well to hasten them back to this quarter?

America is much indebted to the Marquis for his exertions in its favor. I hope Congress will feel it and bestow that reward so pleasing to a Sensible mind. Adieu, My Dear Sir,

I am Yours Sincerely,
&c., &c.,

PH: SCHUYLER.

[Both the following are endorsed on back.]

Hon. James Duane, Esq^r.

I wish you to show the * * * [3 words illegible.]

General Schuyler, 13 May, 1780.

Answered 21 May, 1780.

PH. SCHUYLER TO JAMES DUANE.

[ARNOLD; SECRETS DIVULGED; MILITARY NEEDS; WEBB'S REGIMENT; VAN DYKE'S PROMOTION; DESIRES PAPERS; ALBANY TRIP; WANTS FIELD SERVICE.]

MORRISTOWN, *June 5, 1780.*

MY DEAR:

My friend General Arnold complains that he has not received a line from me since I left Philadelphia. I am, however, not culpable, and my letter must have miscarried, to prevent the like I take the liberty of inclosing one to him.

When the Commander in chief afforded the Committee here a perusal of the resolutions of the 20th ult. the necessity of secrecy on the contents, was mentioned, and I believe no communications have been made by any of the Gentlemen, nor by the General or any of his family, And yet I find some people here are advised that the operations are to be confined to the United States, and that if the Minister of France is not informed of them, he will soon be what will be the consequence? I fear unfavorable to us. I have already in a former letter observed on the impropriety of the

restriction, and every reflection I make on the subject convinces me more and more of it.

I could point out to you as I have done to the General in answer to some questions which he stated to me on what ought to be the *object* of the military operations, that they cannot be pointed to the Southward, except in one case and there is not the most distant probability that that will happen, but to transcribe what I have said on the subject would require more time than I can at present spare. You will see our last letter to the States, and the Estimates which accompany that to Congress of this date. You will observe how vastly deficient we are in what is necessary to prosecute an Enterprise where such a force is required, as is stated in the letters. Is it probable these can be procured under the present circumstances? I really think not, and that restricted as the General is, little advantage is to be expected from this campaign. Indeed, I wish we may not be exposed to disgrace and ruin.

Webb's regiment wants several officers, the General will write to Congress on the subject. I wish the promotion may take place, and the General requested to recommend the officers to the vacancy.

Capt. Van Dyke, who has suffered so much in New York, who under the severest trials has abided by and maintained his principles has a claim to our attention. Let me intreat my Colleagues to aid him in procuring some appointment. He wishes to be in the naval line.—everybody about headquarters speaks well, very well, of him.

Will you be so good as to send me the newspapers, pray do not forget a box of Sigars. Mrs. Schuyler wishes to return to Albany. I believe I shall accompany her, will it be proper for me to request that a member be appointed in my place on the committee here, or will that be of course. Pray advise me.

I shall not be long absent from the Army, but I wish to be

with it as a volunteer, that I may not be confined as I am at present.

For one that has been a General officer to attend the army as a committee man, when it takes the field, is rather a disagreeable situation, It will be more so when the French troops join.

Adieu. Remember me to your colleagues, to the ladies of the house, and the Virginia Gentlemen with you.

I am, Dear Sir, with great esteem,
& affectionately, Your obed^t.

Hum Servant

PH: SCHUYLER.

Hon^l. James Duane, Esq.

[*Endorsed on back is:*] General Schuyler,
5 June, 1780.

24.

PH. SCHUYLER TO JAMES DUANE.

[ONEIDA FRIENDS; WANT, DISCORD, MUTINY; RHODE ISLAND TRIP.]

ALBANY, *February 5th, 1781.*

DEAR SIR:

Persuaded that you are incapable of neglecting your friends I must conclude that the several letters which I have done myself the pleasure to address you since October last have miscarried, or that you have been so entirely engrossed with matters of more importance that you have not had time to answer me.

The board of war has directed the clothier at the army to send me some refuse cloathing for our distressed Oneida Friends, although I do not believe any of it will be fit to offer them, I have nevertheless sent for it that I might not incur censure.

I very much apprehend that these Indians will join the enemy. If they do the consequences will be dreadful to this

unhappy State torn and distracted as it already is with Internal discord. We have with much difficulty been able to form a legislature thirty days after the day appointed for convening, and now that we are met we look on each other with dismay, surrounded with difficulties of such magnitude and number that we are utterly at a loss how to extricate ourselves. What the event of the various embarrassments with which we are overwhelmed will be, God only knows, and time can only disclose, but there is every reason to believe they will be fatal to a very considerable portion of this State, unless Congress and our neighbors will interfere in our favour. Should you apprehend that Congress will afford no relief in money matters, not in an aid of troops in addition to our line (which at all events I believe the Legislature is determined to keep for the defence of the frontiers) call for a division on the questions and transmit them. I need not point out the reasons which induce this advice, they will occur to you.

Our troops have already mutinied and I fear those that are on the frontiers will come away from want of meat, which we have not nor can we procure any. A few of us have extended our credit for 10,000 Bushels of wheat that is now collecting, but as we have no credit in the neighboring States a similar mode to procure beef would avail little.

I have not enjoyed many hours of health since I left you, and am so much indisposed at present that I should not venture abroad. If there were a sufficient number of members to form a Senate without me, perhaps the springs and a sea air will restore me, and I propose a jaunt to Rhode Island, if the situation of affairs will permit it. I was sorry to learn that you were also much indisposed. I hope you are perfectly recovered.

Please to make my best wishes acceptable to Mr. and Mrs.

Morris, Mr. and Mrs. Meredith, Mr. and Mrs. Peters and those other familys who are in the circle. Adieu, my Dear Sir.

I am sincerely

Your obedient Huml Serv.

PH: SCHUYLER

Hon. James Duane, Esqr.

PHILIP SCHUYLER TO JAMES DUANE.

[SOCIAL COURTESIES; CENTRALISING FOR CONGRESS; ESTIMATE OF MORRIS, MCDUGAL, GATES; STATE FINANCES; FLOUR; BILLS ON FRANCE; FLAXMILL MODEL; FRIENDLY HUMOR; FINANCIAL MEASURE.]

ALBANY, *March 29th, 1781.*

DEAR SIR: Your favours of the 3rd of February and of the 11th instant I had the pleasure to receive on the 12th and 19th instant.

Immured in the senate house, with just members sufficient to make a quorum, constantly charged at every adjournment with as much business as I could possibly expedite, together with the attention which was due to Mrs. Washington and the ladies who accompanied her on a visit to Mrs. Schuyler, have so entirely engrossed my time that I have not been able to acknowledge the receipt of your favors.

I was in hopes that additional articles of confederation would have been agreed upon, and proposed to us before the legislature rose, as I am persuaded a great and decisive effort to expel the enemy from the Country, cannot be carried into execution without a grant of additional powers to Congress. With more powers and proper exertion, the business might I think be compleated, for the country, generally speaking, is not destitute of resource, nor is it impoverished by the war, except in the medium of commerce.

It affords me much satisfaction that Congress has determined to create great officers and to commit to them the

execution of their affairs. If the choice be judicious, consequences extensively beneficial will result, order and economy will prevail, especially if a good understanding subsists between the ministers.

Mr. Morris and General McDougal I believe will discharge the trust reposed in them with honor to themselves, and I believe a mutual confidence will subsist. I do not hope so much from Gates whom I understand is to be the war officer, and that the appointment is purposely put off that he may be in condition to be elected. Another objection exists to my mind against him, his enmity to the Commander-in-chief, with whom he must necessarily consult. Indeed there is not a man in the list I have seen of those who are nominated whom I would not prefer to him except myself.

L'Honmiedieu who will be soon with you will advise you of the various embarrassments which the legislature had to wade thro' in the meeting which has concluded to day. Our public letters will inform you of the provisions we have made for the obligation. It was all that could be done as the treasury is as compleatly exhausted, as, I suppose, your pockets are.

Colo. Hay goes down to solicit some money to pay off the more distressed of the public creditors. It will be doing an essential service to the State if he can succeed.

Would it not induce to a considerable saving, if you are to have any flour from Pennsylvania, to exchange it there for the same article delivered at West Point? I am informed there are persons who would do it, if they were allowed half the expense of transportation from Trenton to West Point. Perhaps Colo. Hay would engage.

If Congress should agree to repay me the Bills on France which I have advanced, permit me to request of you to receive them in your name and to intreat Mr. Robert Morris

to sell them for Specie on my account, and be so good as to remit me the money by Colo. Hay or any other opportunity you shall judge a safe one.

I enclose you a Memorial a very distressed Canadian refugee, pray advise me of the determination of Congress on it.

Please to advise Mr. Carroll that in compliance with my promise to him when here, I had a compleat model of a flax-mill made at Saratoga, that I sent it down to the quarter-master in the Winter of 1776 with orders to forward it to Philadelphia, to the care of the quarter-master there, that I wrote him on the occasion, and believed it had been sent, that on receipt of your letter I made the necessary inquiries, and found the model still in one of the public stores somewhat damaged. That I shall at an early day cause it to be repaired and send it down to Colo. Hughes at Fishkill with a request to forward it to the D. Q. Master at Philadelphia and that I shall write him and explain every part which I may think will need it. Be so good as to make him my compliments, with assurances that I reflect with sincere satisfaction on the few but happy hours I passed with him.

As in the recess of the legislature I am
"That happy man whose wish and care a few paternal acres bound,

Content to breathe his native air on his own ground."
a few segars would be very acceptable pour passer le temps, leaving to you busy mortals the pursuit of what? Ambition: no that will not apply to you, but it will I believe to a great majority of your colleagues. I have an invitation from many French officers to pay them a visit, and propose to accept of it, that I may indulge myself in my new system of Philosophy to laugh, not at all mankind, but with that gay people at all those cares which distract mankind.

You will think me on the point of departing for that country from which none ever return when I tell you that I can-

not take more than one or two glasses of Madeira at most. My disorders indeed increase, but my spirits are good and I am determined as the saying is to live all the days of my life, that is cheerfully and gayly without suffering myself to be tormented with fruitlessly repining at what heaven has decreed.

You will learn that I am appointed Surveyor General to the State, it is true, but I accepted the office only to prevent an improper person from taking it until Judge Yates shall have resigned his seat on the bench which will be soon.

You know my friends of both sexes where you are for I am hoping that they are yours, say all for me to them that your esteem for some and politeness for others will induce you.

Perhaps I may venture a ride to Philadelphia to take a segar with you in the late Isaac Pembertons home which I am informed you will occupy as soon as Mr. Huntington leaves it.

We have been very generous to Congress in offering them so capital and advance in lieu of their four-tenths. I know it will be expected from you that you should urge to have the greater part of it assigned to the payment of the Continental debt in this State. I must therefore advise you to move for it, and if you do not succeed transmit an account of it.

I was for relinquishing the jurisdiction to the Grants and to appoint Commissioners to adjust all claims, having had tolerably good assurances that the far greater part of private property would have been secured by compact. In this persuasion I moved a set of resolutions, they were carried in senate with only one dissentment, but when under consideration in committee of the whole, a message was sent from the Governor threatening a prorogation if they proceeded in a measure "ruinous to the State and destructive to the

General Confederacy." Time must evince whether the measure deserved this harsh censure, and who was right, where both I believe were sincere.

Adieu, I am Dear Sir
with great esteem and regard
Your Obedient Humble Servt.,
PH. SCHUYLER.

HON. JAMES DUANE, ESQR.

(To be Continued.)

REVIEWS.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. By Thomas E. Watson. New York: D. Appleton and Company. Octavo, cloth, pp xxiii+534. Illustrated.

The object of the author is two-fold: to write a popular sympathetic life of Jefferson, and to give the South the honor that is due and that has not been accorded in the New England histories. To write a popular history of Jefferson and his times no one is better qualified than Mr. Watson. If there is still a Jeffersonian Democrat, our author is the man. The work is both destructive and constructive, and is very interesting reading. The author has gone over the same ground that others have explored before him, but many facts are by him differently interpreted. Jefferson is studied from a purely human point of view. He is not eulogised; he is simply portrayed as a very human statesman. Some points made are worthy of note, among them the following: Jefferson is clearly shown to have been a good lawyer but a failure as a planter simply because he did not look after his business properly; he was not timid and vacillating in character or in public policy, but consistently courageous throughout his career; his political theories were not in the slightest degree colored by French influence, but had been evolved before the American Revolution and to some extent expressed in 1774 in *The Summary View*; and since Jefferson, unlike most Americans, possessed an intimate first hand acquaintance with the condition of the lower classes in France, and since he knew that the people rather than the French king had helped America, it is easy for Mr. Watson to explain the course of Jefferson in the Genet episode and his attitude towards France.

The history is more than a life of Jefferson, as it embraces a summary view of politics during Jefferson's life. The principal feature of this portion of the work is to emphasize properly the part played by North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia, in the revolutionary movement. The Stamp and Tea troubles in the Southern colonies were earlier and just as important as those in New England; the revolt in the South was earlier, and was accomplished under greater difficulties than in the North; the dangers to the South were far greater and her military exertions greater than those of the North; numbers of Southern war leaders are mentioned and important battles named that are to-day almost forgotten simply because no Southern historian wrote about them.

Of about two dozen contemporaries of Jefferson short character sketches are given—all fresh, none borrowed. John Marshall is well described as “as pure a man, able a judge, and rabid a partisan as ever lived.” The list of leaders chosen by Mr. Watson is by no means the same list that would be chosen by Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge. Hamilton is blamed for bending back America into dependence to England, and for inaugurating the protective system which the author thinks is the mother of many evils. He considers Aaron Burr a respectable politician up to the time of the duel with Hamilton because there is no evidence to the contrary and some in his favor. Edmund Randolph is shown to have suggested the idea of nullification to Madison at the time of the Alien and Sedition troubles.

Incidentally, two hoary traditions are disturbed: (1) the strict social classification, said by New England writers to have been the rule in Virginia and about which so much nonsense has been written, is said not to have existed; (2) the threadbare theory that slavery made people consider manual labor odious is denied, because it was the same everywhere in the old world, and was changing only slowly in

America. And the writer is correct when he asserts that the prejudice still exists in places where a negro is seldom seen.

There is a certain negative value in the purely destructive work. Jefferson's many friends and enemies have manufactured a number of legends that have been perpetuated by his biographers for various reasons. No less than fourteen writers are arraigned by Mr. Watson for their mis-writings. Among these are Theodore Roosevelt who called Jefferson and Madison "infamous," and Jefferson "weak and vacillating," Henry Adams who is generally unfriendly, William Eleroy Curtis who cannot possibly tell a correct story, Channing who does not know, and Woodrow Wilson who omits.

There is no doubt about the short comings of the gentlemen whom Mr. Watson transfixes, but it may be doubted whether some of them, say Curtis and Roosevelt, are worth the space given to the refutation of their errors. Still it is a service to have catalogued some of their mistakes.

The whole book is readable; the chapters are short; the paragraphs uniquely arranged to bring out the author's thought; the style somewhat reportorial and pugnacious. All in all it is a good popular life of Jefferson, and useful to offset others that we have had. It will cause some of the scientific historians much pain.

WALTER L. FLEMING.

West Virginia University.

GENERAL JOSEPH GRAHAM AND HIS PAPERS ON NORTH CAROLINA REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY. By Maj. William A. Graham. Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1904 O. pp. 385, 5 maps, 5 ills., 6 ports, cloth.

The primary purpose of this volume is to preserve and present in convenient form various papers dealing with the British campaign in North Carolina, 1780-81. These papers were prepared about 1821 by General Joseph Graham (1759-

1836), a participant in many of the events described, at the instance of Archibald D. Murphey who was at that time gathering materials for a history of the State. In 1825 and again in 1827 Judge Murphey printed a memorial to the Assembly of North Carolina in which he outlined the plan of a wonderfully complete and exhaustive work on the State, a work which would have been to-day of priceless value had he been able to bring it to completion along the lines contemplated. But the Legislatures of those days, like many others since their time, were short sighted and ignorant; pennywise and pound foolish they declined to give Judge Murphey the aid he needed; he was himself overtaken by ill health and misfortune and died a few years later without having accomplished the purpose to which he had devoted his great talents. A large part of his accumulation of materials was destroyed as rubbish by the previous housewife in whose house he died, his correspondence was scattered and his work apparently perished. Now, this volume containing material which he would have used is published; while a descendant, Mr. W. Henry Hoyt, of Brooklyn, N. Y., has in preparation a biography of Murphey himself in which a considerable part of his long lost correspondence is to appear. And thus, after seventy years of comparative neglect, Archibald DeBow Murphey, the father of the common school system of North Carolina and of the South, the promoter of internal improvements in North Carolina and forerunner of the U. S. Geological Survey and the first native historian of North Carolina, is coming into his own.

Major Graham divides his book into two parts. The first is devoted to the family and personal history of General Graham, drawn in part from the papers which follow, but more largely from other contemporary and family sources. General Graham not only served in the War of the Revolution, but in the Creek War of 1814; his title coming from the latter service; he was in the constitutional conventions

of 1787 and 1788; was often in the State legislature and was a pioneer in the manufacture of iron.

Part two presents the papers prepared by General Graham for Judge Murphey. It is of the greater value because Graham was in a partisan corps used to harass the main lines of the enemy and keep the Tories in check and so he is able to write with the authority of personal experience, often as the commanding officer, of the less known but hardly less important events of the civil strife. He discusses with more or less detail such events as the battle of Ramsaur's Mill, Colson's Mill, Rocky Mount, Hanging Rock, Cowan's Ford, Shallow Ford, Pyle's Defeat and Rutherford's Campaign on the Cape Fear; he throws a light on all of these events which will help to make clear many movements little understood in Revolutionary North Carolina.

It is believed that these papers are all now published for the first time, but there is no indication whether they are printed from the original manuscripts or from newspaper copies. This uncertainty is increased by a comparison with the parts which appeared in the North Carolina University Magazine, 1854-57, and more recently in the North Carolina State Records, vol. 19. The letters formerly printed not only differ from one another but also from Major Graham's edition. In the absence of a definite statement as to the *source* from which this material is printed the student is left in an unpleasant quandary as to the relative value of each. There are some errors in the text. Murphey did not die in 1829 but in 1832 (p. 189); Greene appears for Green (171), Grimes for Graham (13) and the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal for the Dismal Swamp Canal (97). The index is worthless.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1903-1904. Edited by Geo. W. Martin, Sec. Topeka,

Kan.; Geo. A. Clark, State Printer, 1904, illus., pp. ix.+594, 8vo., cloth.

This volume, composed of some fifty contributions, shows great historical activity in Kansas. These papers deal with territorial reminiscences, Indians, John Brown, Civil War, and after, and biography. Several of the articles are by young women students in the State University under the guidance of Professor F. H. Hodder, showing marked industry—perhaps another unfavorable aspect of the mighty racial suicide problem. Much of the book is of course very poor history as the writers do not have original reservoir of their own to draw from and they do not know how to draw from other sources properly. A large proportion were delivered at meetings of the State Historical Society. Nearly all have detailed sketches of the writers.

Contents: 1. United States land-offices in Kansas, with map, by Albert Greene, of Lecompton. 13 pp., sketches of John Calhoun, Ely Moore, William Brindle, with lists of other officials and some details of administration. No sources.

2. The story of the seventh Kansas, by S. M. Fox, of Manhattan. 36 pp., by a member of the regiment; largely from memory; many personal sketches, longest of James Smith. Good material but no authority for the dates.

3. Sherman County and the H. U. A., by E. E. Blackman, Roca, Neb. 12 pp., from memory sketching the Homesteaders' Union Association, a farmer-labor organization formed about 1890. Inside history from a participant in the germ of the populist movement.

4. Massacre of Confederates by Osage Indians in 1863, by W. L. Bartles, Iola. 5 pp., some twenty killed near Humboldt; but all seemingly from memory.

5. Along the trail, by John Madden, of Emporia. 5 pp., rhetorical description of struggle with Indians.

6. Indian Reservations in Kansas and the extinguishment

of their title, with map, by Anna Heloise Abel, of Salina. 38 pp., details of the steps for getting land from the Indians; references, with biographies of Isaac McCoy, Isaac S. Kalloch, C. C. Hutchinson, J. Meeker, Sidney Clarke, J. D. Bowersock, D. C. Haskell, George J. Hoyt, S. A. Cobb and John R. Goodin.

7. Black Kettle's last raid—1868, by Hill P. Wilson, of Hays City. 8 pp., apparently by an observer from memory.

8. Secretary's report for 1903. 8 pp., very encouraging outlook, states that Kansas history has been "personal, factional, and controversial."

9. Historical work in Osage County, by Charles R. Green, of Lyndon. 7 pp., wonderful activity of a farmer who prints what he himself gathers through interviews and other ways.

10. Report on exploration, by W. J. Griffing, of Manhattan. 2 pp., archaeological study.

11. Mounds and deserted villages, by W. E. Richey, of Harveyville. 2 pp., another archeological study.

12. A famous old crossing on the Santa Fe Trail, by George P. Morehouse, of Council Grove. 6 pp., over the Neosho River, description of events occurring there. No references.

13. Business then and now, by James C. Horton, of Kansas City. 6 pp., reminiscences of man born 1837.

14. The fourth Kansas Militia in the Price raid, by William T. McClure, of Bonner Springs. 3 pp., by a private, not much personal element.

15. Early Spanish explorations and Indian implements in Kansas by W. E. Richey, of Harveyville. 16 pp., mere essay with some fresh material on relics lately found.

16. Reminiscences of the Yeager Raid on the Santa Fe Trail, in 1863, by D. Hubbard, of Olathe. 2 pp., by an observer.

17. The Wichita Indians in Kansas, by James R. Mead, of Wichita. 6 pp., by an Indian fighter but not very vivid.

18. The Pottawatomie Massacre, by S. J. Shively, of Paola. 10 pp., essay merely on this incident of 1856 involving John Brown whom he considers a hero.

19. The Osage Ceded Lands, by C. E. Cory, of Fort Scott. 12 pp., history of the settling of these lands; sketches of H. C. McComas, M. J. Salter, A. P. Riddle.

20. Reminiscences of James C. Horton, of Kansas City. 6 pp., bearing on James H. Lane and John A. Wakefield.

21. Along the Kaw trail, by Geo. P. Morehouse, of Council Grove. 7 pp., description of Indian customs.

22. An attempted rescue of John Brown from Charlestown, Va., Jail, by O. E. Morse, of Mound City. 14 pp., based on a number of letters; but Brown refused rescue.

23. Taking the Census and other incidents in 1855, by James R. McClure, of Junction City. 23 pp., very interesting personal incidents.

24. The Friends' Establishment in Kansas Territory, by Wilson Hobbs. 22 pp., personal account of Missionary efforts among the Indians.

25. Kansas at Chickamagua and Chattanooga. • 4 pp., State monuments on these battlefields.

26. With John Brown in Kansas, by August Bondi, of Salina. 14 pp., by participant from memory; sketches of D. N. Utter, H. H. Williams, S. C. Pomeroy, O. E. Learned.

27. The Great Seal of Kansas, by Robert Hay. 10 pp., documentary, with long introduction.

28. A State Flower. 2 pp., legislative acts with one poem on the wild sunflower which was adopted by law.

29. Emigration to Kansas in 1856, by Robert Morrow. 13 pp., by an old settler, from memory largely; sketches of S. W. Eldridge, J. E. Rastall, E. P. Harris.

30. John A. Anderson, a Character sketch, by Geo. W. Martin. 9 pp., most interesting incidents in life of this preacher-politician born June 26, 1834, died about 1890.

31. Quantrill and the Morgan-Walker Tragedy, by John

J. Lutz, of Stanton, Minn. 7 pp., from interviews with relatives of those killed.

32. The Capital of Kansas in 1856, by Franklin G. Adams. 21 pp., general account, with some references; sketches of J. A. Haldeman, J. S. Emery, E. V. Sumner.

33. The Eleventh Kansas regiment at Platte Bridge, by S. H. Fairfield, of Alma. 11 pp., general account of this battle with the Indians in July, 1865, by participant.

34. The big Springs Convention, by R. G. Elliott, of Lawrence. 15 pp., seemingly by participant in this political meeting of 1856. Highly rhetorical.

35. In Memoriam—O. B. Gunn. 2 pp., born Oct. 29, 1828, died Feb. 18, 1901; some events in life.

36. A Kansas pioneer merchant, by Geo. W. Martin. 4 pp., William Leamer, born Sept. 8, 1826.

37. Railroad grading among Indians, by A. Roenig, of Lincoln. 5 pp., reminiscences of difficulties in 1868.

38. A defense, by Samuel D. Lecompte. 16 pp., rather bitter argument for his course as territorial chief justice; reprinted from *Troy Chief* of Feb. 4, 1875.

39. A Kansas Soldier's escape from Camp Ford, Tex., by Geo. W. Martin. 11 pp., story of Robert Henderson born January 8, 1834, escaped 1864.

40. Autobiography of F. B. Sanborn. 7 pp., chiefly on his literary work.

41. Reminiscences of Frederick Chouteau. 12 pp., an old pioneer's story taken down by F. G. Adams.

42. Biographical sketch of Judge Rush Elmore, by John Martin, of Topeka. 2 pp., born Feb. 27, 1819, in Alabama; main events only.

43. Isle au Vache, by Geo. J. Remsburg, of Oak Mills. 7 pp., history of Cow Island in the Missouri River. Some references.

44. The battle of the Spurs, or John Brown's exit from

Kansas, by L. L. Kienie, of Topeka. 6 pp., by newspaper man, apparently on stock sources though none given.

45. The establishment of counties in Kansas, by Helen G. Gill, of Vinland. 24 pp., statutory account, with many maps.

46. High waters in Kansas—Extracts from the diary of Rev. Jotham Meeker and Others. 9 pp., goes back to 1844, but little since then.

47. The Kansas Indians in Shawnee County after 1855, by Miss Fannie Cole. 3 pp., based on the memory of a little girl.

48. Recollections of early times in Kansas Territory, from the standpoint of a regular cavalryman, by Robert Morris Peck. 24 pp., chiefly military events of 1857, combats with Indians.

49. A Roster of Kansas for fifty years. 35 pp., terms of State executive officials, speakers, judges, district attorneys. U. S. Senators and Congressmen, management of educational and other State institutions, conventions and U. S. Judiciary; from 1854 to present.

50. Addenda, 4 pp.; Index, 48 pp.

THE LITERATURE OF THE LOUISIANA TERRITORY. By Alexander Nichols DeMenil, A. M., Ph. D., LL. B. St. Louis: St. Louis News Company. 1904. D. pp. 354, cloth \$1.50.

This is a book compiled under the inspiration of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition by one of its directors and dealing with the history, literature and bibliography of that territory. Chapters of five or six pages in length are devoted to 48 of the more important authors. These chapters are in part bio-bibliographical and are in part filled with characteristic extracts from the authors under discussion. These sketches are followed by bibliographical chapters on Louisiana authors, Missouri authors, Iowa authors, etc.

The whole is said to be a pioneer study. It is more, it is a nearly worthless jumble by a man who knows little of history, less of literature and a good deal less than nothing of bibliography.

AGRICULTURE FOR BEGINNERS. By Charles W. Burkett, Frank L. Stevens & D. H. Hill. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1904. pp. xii+267, 215 figs. D., cloth.

Professors Burkett, Stevens and Hill express their belief that agriculture is an "eminently teachable subject;" that there is no line of separation between the science of agriculture and the practical art; that there is "no difference between teaching the child the fundamental principles of farming and teaching the same child the fundamental truths of arithmetic, geography or grammar." With these ideas in mind they have prepared this little volume for beginners, discussing in a plain, simple way, illuminated by many illustrations and examples, such subjects as soil, the plant, how to train a fruit tree, disease of plants, insects, farm crops, domestic animals, dairying. The book should be of value in arousing in young pupils a love of nature and of the outdoor life that the farm demands. It should conduce to good health and to more intelligence in farming.

THE PINNIX DEFINER. In three grades. By F. M. and H. C. Pinnix, Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott Co. [1904.] S. pp. 243, cloth.

The authors of this little work voice the difficulty that pupils are under in acquiring a vocabulary. The smaller dictionaries contain some 25,000 words, while the vocabulary of the person with a fair English education will hardly exceed 3,000. As dictionaries are reference books they cannot discriminate in the pupils' favor. They cannot be used as text books in the ordinary sense since they are not graded or arranged with an idea to the gradually unfolding intelligence

of the pupil. There is a need, the authors say for "some text book which will (1) discriminate in its choice of words to be defined, discarding alike those with whose meaning every one is familiar, and those so rarely used as to have little place in the working vocabulary of the ordinary English speaking man or woman; (2) which will make the definitions so simple that the ordinary pupil will have no difficulty in comprehending them; (3) which will teach the application of words, without which knowledge a mere parrot-like familiarity with definitions amounts to nothing. The object of this little book is to meet these three wants. We have endeavored (1) to supply the pupil with the words he needs, and those only; (2) to reduce all the definitions to the very lowest terms of simplicity; (3) to supplement those definitions with clear verbal illustration."

This clear cut, definite statement of purpose is in strong contrast with the glittering generalities frequently found in text books. About 7,000 words have been chosen; they have been divided into three grades according to difficulty and each is followed by a short, clear definition with frequently a sentence illustrating the use of the word. The alphabetical order is neglected, but words from the same root are brought together. Diacritical marks are reduced to a minimum, no doubt to the equal joy of teacher and pupil. For pronunciation a few simple rules are given and when necessary the sound of a particular letter in a word is indicated. Words are divided into syllables and have accent marks.

This book seems to promise much usefulness for the writer remembers with gratitude the help he received from Westlake's *3,000 Practice Words*, a book made somewhat on this plan, but neither as thorough nor as extensive. Here the young pupil dipping for the first time into the riches of our language finds ready at hand the materials out of which he is to build his vocabulary. The grades into which the

book is divided must refer to those of the high school or college preparatory. It cannot refer to the grammar grades except possibly the last two. A few of the words taken at random from each will prove this; (1) ostracize, globe, vigor, invigorate, cisalpine, cisatlantic (p. 26); (2) roseate, magnanimous, peri, annual, confines, encompass (p. 123); (3) orison, rarefy, retrospect, introspection, acrostics, compend (p. 197).

The plan of this little book is most excellent; the execution of the plan highly creditable; the typographical appearance faultless.

AT THE BIG HOUSE WHERE AUNT NANCY AND AUNT PHRONY HELD FORTH ON THE ANIMAL FOLKS. By Anne Virginia Culbertson. Illustrated by E. Warde Blaisdell, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1904. D. pp. [9]+348, 30 ills., of which 16 are in colors.

The author tells us that this little volume of folk tales were collected among the negroes of Sussex county, in southeastern Virginia, and among the Cherokee Indians in western North Carolina. Aunt Nancy is sponsor for the negro stories and Aunt Phrony, half Indian, half negro, for the Indian stories. They are told at the request of three importunate white youngsters and all in the dialect of the Virginia negro. The writer of this review was reared in northeastern North Carolina, where the conditions are the same historically, topographically and ethnographically as in southeastern Virginia, and he bears willing witness that he has never before, with one exception, read negro dialect which so wonderfully reproduces the characteristics of a section as is done in this little book. Open its pages where you will and there is the same accurate and verbatim portrayal of negro life, manners, and methods of thought and expression, *e. g.*, "Kyouncil," "sezee," 'closeter an' closeter," "mosey," "sasshay," "B f'um bull's foot,"

"gwine," "laig," "haid," "daid," "an' dey ses ter one nu'rr," "Lawd," "aig," "sut'n'y," etc.

The whole body of stories is confessedly edited and the ones from Indian sources are found to vary in detail from what are evidently the same original as given in Mooney's *Myths of the Cherokee*. The stories themselves, with their lively actors: Mistah Slickry Sly Fox and Hongry Billy, his brother, Mr. Hyar' and Miss' Molly Cotton Tail, his wife, Mr. Tarrylong Tarr'pin, Mr. Wi-yum Wil' Tukkey, Mis' Possum and Mistah Grub-wu'm, with their funny ways and quaint sayings bring to mind a rapidly vanishing past.

A SOUTHERN PLANTER. Social Life in the Old South. By Susan Dabney Smedes. New York: James Pott & Company. 1900. O. pp. 342. Cloth, \$1.00.

These memoirs of Col. Thomas Dabney, of Mississippi, were collected by his daughter, Mrs. Smedes, in 1886, immediately after her father's death. The family had no intention of giving them to the public, but were finally prevailed upon to have them published. The first edition in 1887 circulated principally among the relatives and friends of the Dabneys and hardly reached the general public. In England the book was better appreciated. Gladstone declared it "the exhibition of one of the very noblest of human characters," and secured permission to have the volume republished in London. A second American edition was published in 1890 and a third in 1900, but even yet the history men have scarcely noticed the value of the book.

Not only is it a life of Col. Dabney, but it gives a good description of social and economic conditions in the far South from 1840 to 1880. There is a sketch of the Dabney family of Virginia, an account of the youth of Thomas Dabney and his education in the North (he was taught to read in Virginia by a negro servant), and a description of the two months' journey of the Virginia emigrants, white and black,

to the cotton lands of the Mississippi frontier. The story of the conquest of the wilderness by the masters of slaves is intensely interesting, and no scientific historian can give a better account of the management of a great cotton plantation, of the home life of whites and blacks, of the society in the Black Belt of the lower South. Less pleasant reading, but still of value to the historian, are the chapters relating to refugee life during the Civil War and to the intolerable conditions of Reconstruction. After reading the story of this one old man during the days of grinding poverty and insolent misgovernment by alien rulers, when taxes were higher than incomes and servants were taught to hate their former masters, one can understand why it was that so many of the old people of the South died during the late 60's and the 70's. Unlike most Southerners of his time, Col. Dabney carried on a voluminous correspondence with friends and relatives, and many of his letters are reproduced in these memorials. The old family negroes also contributed their reminiscences of the much-loved master. The historian of slavery and Southern society will find this volume invaluable. The portrait is omitted (Col. Dabney looked very much like General Lee), but the paper, binding, and type are more attractive in this edition than in former ones. Gladstone's letter is reproduced *in facsimile*.

WALTER L. FLEMING,
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In the first number of this journal mention was made of a series on SOUTHERN WRITERS projected by Prof. Wm. M. Baskervill, then of Vanderbilt University. Unfortunately Professor Baskervill died in 1899, but the critical, literary studies outlined by him have been continued by some of his students. Smith & Lamar, agents for the Publishing House of the M. E. Church, South, have now brought out the second volume, which is dedicated to the memory of Professor

Baskervill, and serves as a memorial of his well spent life. To it is affixed an appreciative biographical and literary sketch of his life by Prof. Charles Forster Smith, in which his work as a teacher is reviewed and his gradually awakening interest in the field of Southern letters traced. The sketches have little of biography and less of bibliography, being mainly literary. The subjects treated are Mrs. Margaret J. Preston, by Janie McTyeire Baskervill; Richard Malcom Johnston, by Wm. A. Webb; Sherwood Bonner, by B. M. Drake; Thomas Nelson Page, by Edward Mims; James Lane Allen, by Prof. J. B. Henneman; Mrs. Burton Harrison and Miss Grace King, by Henry N. Snyder; Samuel Minturn Peck and Madison Cawein, by Wm. Henry Hulme, and a general summary touching a number of lesser names, by James W. Sewell. There is in these sketches too much emphasis on the aristocratic lineage of the subjects, as if this could affect their literary work, and they are in the main too laudatory and uncritical. (Nashville. 1903. S. pp. v+392. Clo., 75 cents).

THE NEW SOUTH AND OTHER ADDRESSES. By Henry Woodfin Grady. With biography, critical opinions and explanatory notes by Edna Henry Lee Turpin. Cloth, 12mo. pp. 136. New York: Maynard, Merrill & Co. 1904. Price, 24 cents.

This is the latest number in Maynard's English Classic Series and is designed primarily for the use of students in literature classes. Besides the New South the little volume contains *The South and Her Problems*, the *Speech at the Boston Banquet* and the *Address Before the Bay State Club*. These are the best of Grady's speeches, and they will be welcomed in this form by the general reader since the collections of Grady's works are now out of print. The editor contributes a twenty-page sketch of the life and work of the great editor and orator, and reprints a few pages of

critical estimates of Grady's career. In the editorial notes is given some interesting information, chiefly in the form of statistics, about the South.

POETS OF THE SOUTH. By F. V. N. Painter. New York: American Book Co. [1903.] D. pp. 237, 5 ports., cloth.

That there is an awakening to what is best in the political literature of the South is shown by the increasing number of books presenting selections of their work. In the present little volume Professor Painter has devoted a few pages to some of the lesser lights like Key, Wilde, Prentice, Simms and O'Hara, but the greater part of his space is given to Poe, Hayne, Timrod, Lanier and Ryan, the five men who, by common consent, hold first place in the Southern world of letters. Each is introduced with an appreciative biographical and critical sketch, followed by some of their better known poems. There are also notes, critical, literary and historical, with five portraits.

Miss E. A. Lehman, of Winston, N. C., has issued a little volume of POEMS that are mainly religious in tone; some take their inspiration from the Carolina mountains, while others, like "North Carolina Heroes" and "The Hills of Carolina," pay tribute to the mighty dead. The metres used are as varied as the themes, the most successful apparently being a trochaic tetrameter followed by a complementary line of two trochees, the last being catalectic, as seen in "Now:"

Golden days are swiftly fleeting;

Make them tell.

Heart-throbs now for you are beating;

Prize them well.

A familiar southernism is found on page 33, where "slow" is made to rhyme with floor (flow). (New York: The Grafton Press. [1904], 24. pp. 47.)

CAPTAIN ROGER JONES OF LONDON AND VIRGINIA. By Judge L. H. Jones, of Winchester, Ky. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell's Sons. 1891. O. pp. 295, ports., 21; facsimile and coat of arms in colors.

This Jones family which produced some of the best known fighters in the Civil War is one of the oldest in Virginia, the immigrant ancestor appearing in that colony about 1680. Most of its members are still to be found within her limits; although one branch has long been domiciled in North Carolina and many members have removed to Kentucky. The study is based very largely on family letters and documents going back to the beginning of the 18th century, and it is noticeable that the early generations are rather fuller than the later ones.

The Joneses are connected in the female line with the families of Bathurst, Belfield, Browning, Carter, Catesby, Cocke, Graham, Forrest, Leroy, Hickman, Hoskins, Latane, Lewis, Merriwether, Skelton, Walker, Waring and Woodford. Various contemporary documents, as wills and letters, are printed. The family had the right to bear arms, and Judge Jones evidently takes great delight in heraldic descriptions. It was particularly prolific in soldiers and duelists and lawyers. There are 21 excellent heliotype portraits. As is frequently the case the index does not include all names in the text, and the arrangement is not in such genealogical form as to make it of the maximum service, but the material itself seems to be of the highest possible authority.

YEAR BOOK, CITY OF CHARLESTON, S. C., 1903. Charleston: The Daggett Printing Company, 1904. Pp. xx+300+26, 8vo., cloth.

As well known, the annual municipal volume of Charleston, S. C., has for a number of years contained a substantial appendix of purely historical material, but lately this space has been decreasing until in this latest issue only twenty-six

pages are devoted to that purpose, half of them being given to the official action of the city council at a flag presentation and in memory of the following local citizens: R. B. Rhett, H. B. Horlbeck, Bernard O'Neill and G. W. Williams. The other half is devoted to a poem written in 1804 by E. O. G. Brale describing a trip up the Cooper River. It has neither note nor introduction nor editorial help of any kind, nor is any reason given for putting it before the public. Of its inherent qualities, it does not seem worthy of this honor, so it is presumed there is some significance in bringing it out, though none is stated.

In a pamphlet recently issued under the title *THE CONFEDERATE STATES CONGRESS* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1903. O. pp. 29), Professor E. W. Sikes, of Wake Forest College, reviews and discusses seriatim the principal measures that came before the provisional and the First and Second Congresses of the Confederate States. The value of this paper would have been greatly increased had Dr. Sikes brought together as complete a list as possible of the sources for the history of the debates in these bodies and a list of their published documents, including the laws. So far as the writer of this note is aware little effort has been made to put into tangible form this phase of Confederate history. The sooner it is done the better, for Confederate documents are now rare and are getting rarer.

Capt. M. O. Sherrill, State Librarian of North Carolina, has reprinted in pamphlet form from the *Newton Enterprise* an account of his experiences as a prisoner of war in the Old Capitol in Washington and Elmira, N. Y. (Raleigh (?), 1904. O. pp. 20.)

Dr. John F. Foard, of Statesville, N. C., has published a new edition of his *NORTH AMERICA AND AFRICA*, in which

he advocates that the slaves freed by the war be paid for, and that half of the money be used in colonizing the race in Africa. (O., pp. 67, 2 ports., ill., 25 cents.)

REGENERATION OF CRAYFISH APPENDAGES. By Mary Isabelle Steele, M. A. University of Missouri, June, 1904, large 8vo., pp. 47, paper, 75 cents. Vol. II, No. 4, The University of Missouri Studies, edited by Frank Thilly, Professor of Philosophy.

This paper is based on work during five years, from 1896-1901, done in connection with the degree of master of arts, all very scientific in method, with an appropriate number of plates.

Prof. Chas. A. Ellwood, of the University of Missouri, has issued as a bulletin of the department of sociology of that institution a study of the condition of the county almshouses of Missouri (paper, 8vo., pp. 31, Columbia, Mo.) By personal effort, through the aid of interviews by his students, and by correspondence, Professor Ellwood has gathered, tabulated, and here publishes information covering ninety out of the ninety-three almshouses in the State. He contents himself with giving the facts without any opinions as to the management of these organizations except what one may infer from his statements as to the proper charity methods. He does condemn the lease system and he does lay down the principle as to proper control of all such social efforts. He advocates three forms of supervision, local visitation, State inspection and legislative control.

The Albany *Law Journal*, June, 1904, contains two letters from the Doolittle correspondence, contributed by D. Mowry, of dates April 10, 1856, and May 14, 1858, both from H. R. Selden, bearing on the negro question, which he describes as "this African curse."

Manzi, Joyant & Co., 170 Fifth avenue, New York, announce a history of Louisiana, in four volumes, with rare maps and illustrative features, by Prof. A. Fortier, of Tulane University, New Orleans. It is a most comprehensive and authoritative work by perhaps the most competent hand in existence. The edition is limited to 1,250 copies, with 35 additional for presentation, in three grades. The cheapest series is \$15.00 per volume, but bound in the handsomest manner.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

THE VIRGINIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, July, 1904, Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 112. \$5.00 yearly, \$1.50 singly, Richmond, Va.

Contents: 1. Proceedings of the Virginia Committee of Correspondence, 1759-'67. 13 pp., list of judgments by English against Virginians, letter on stamp act, committee minutes; down to 1764.

2. Census of Gloucester County, 1782-83. (Continued.) 3 pp., both white and black.

3. The vestry book of King William Parish, Va., 1707-1750. (Continued.) 16 pp., chiefly tithables and money accounts, to 1719.

4. The site of Old "James Towne," 1607-1698, by Samuel H. Yonge. (Continued.) 22 pp., thorough study by U. S. Engineer locating important buildings, with descriptions.

5. Moravian diaries of travels through Virginia, edited by Rev. William J. Hinke and Charles E. Kemper. (Continued.) 28 pp., chiefly religious conditions, with places and mileage.

6. Virginia Gleanings in England. (Continued.) 9 pp., from L. Withington and H. F. Waters; will abstracts.

7. Historical and genealogical notes and queries. (Continued.)

8. Genealogy. 18 pp., Bruce, Morton, Fielding, Davis, Brooke and Herndon Families.

9. Book reviews. 2 pp.

THE JOHN P. BRANCH HISTORICAL PAPERS of Randolph-Macon College, No. 4, June, 1904, paper. pp. 259-373, annual, \$1.00, Ashland, Va.

Contents: 1. Introduction. 1 pp., that papers by college students, published to stimulate young men and gather information about local history.

2. The public life of George C. Dromgoole, by Edward James Woodhouse, A. B. 26 pp., *Virginian Politician*, 1797-April 27, 1847; many foot notes and exact references.

3. Benjamin Watkins Leigh, by Edwin James Smith, A. B. 13 pp., born June 18, 1781; died February 2, 1849; based on standard histories and original documentary material, almost wholly on political side.

4. Robert R. Livingston—beginnings of American Diplomacy, by Robert Kemp Morton, A. M. 26 pp., first part; born Nov. 27, 1746; covers topics as U. S. Department of Foreign Affairs, difficulties, Peace Commission, Livingston and Franklin, and Adams, and Jay, and Deane, attitude of France and England. Many foot notes and references.

5. Spencer Roane—reprints from the *Richmond Enquirer*. 49 pp., the Virginia judge, 1800-1820, his decisions beginning with 1816; to be finished next year.

Generally this issue shows much improvement over former ones in the standard set and the efforts to reach it. The young writers hold an admirable restraint over themselves and the contributions are based on the correct principle for such work, that it is valuable as training for the authors and as material for the generalizer. Hence the qualities most demanded are accuracy, industry and fullness of citation. These are apparent on nearly every page.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, July, 1904, Vol. XXVIII, No. 111, pp. 257-384, \$3.00 yearly, 75 cents singly, Philadelphia, Pa.

Contents: 1. George Washington in Pennsylvania, by Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, LL. D. 16 pp., vigorous address on Washington's birthday anniversary in 1904.

2. A great Philadelphian: Robert Morris, by Dr. Ellis Paxon Oberholtzer. 22 pp., essay with many extracts from writings.

3. Letters of Thomas Jefferson to Charles Willson Peale, 1796-1825, by Horace W. Sellers. (Continued.) 25 pp.,

mostly on his polygraph and Indian relics that he is collecting, with notes on animals of this country; some thirty letters.

4. Marriage Licenses of Caroline County, Maryland, 1774-1815, by Henry Downes Cranor. (Continued.) 26 pp., down to 1799.

5. Ship Registers for the Port of Philadelphia, 1726-1775. (Continued.) 29 pp., names of vessels, master, owner, place built, with tonnage; to Dec. 29, 1772.

6. Notes and queries. 8 pp.; Book notices. 2 pp.

THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, July, 1904, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 317-467, \$2.00 yearly, 50 cents singly, Iowa City, Iowa.

Contents: 1. Daniel Webster, by Horace E. Deemer. 27 pp., very eulogistic address delivered January 15, 1903.

2. First yearly meeting of the Iowa Anthropological Association, by Duren J. H. Ward. 27 pp., secretary's report of meeting of last February 13, discussion of physiography, biology, archaeology, the "Lansing Man," the Davenport Academy, philology, sociology, local history, education and the relations of these to anthropology.

3. Maps illustrative of the boundary history of Iowa, by Benjamin F. Shambaugh. 12 pp., based on statute sources chiefly, with four maps prepared by Bertha H. Shambaugh.

4. Some phases of corporate legislation in the territory of Iowa, by Frank Edward Horack. 13 pp., based on local and national statutes, scientific.

5. The national university of agriculture, by Jesse Macy. 5 pp., popular account of the work of the National Agricultural Department.

6. A bibliography of Iowa State Publications for 1898 and 1899, by Margaret Budington. 31 pp., second part of this comprehensive work, titles with uprights.

7. Some publications. 20 pp., reviews of some seven or eight books, usually not very critical.

8. Notes and Comment. 18 pp., very interesting on the activity of historical study in Iowa showing some seven local societies auxiliary to the State organization; also good suggestions to libraries on preserving local material.

CONFEDERATE VETERAN, June, 1904, Vol. XII, No.6, pp. 261-303, \$1.00 yearly, 10 cents singly, Nashville, Tenn.

There is considerable data bearing on the Nashville campaign of 1864, but the most of it is reprints. A part of it is a very appreciative estimate of General George H. Thomas, who is represented as having a very strong regard for the Southern people.

THE LOST CAUSE, April, 1904, Vol. X, No. 9, pp. 130-142, \$1.00 yearly, 10 cents singly, Louisville, Ky.

A large part of the issue is taken up with a precise account of the first day at Gettysburg by J. H. Steiner, based on official records. A significant paper is an interview with General Lee shortly after Appomattox, by George W. Pepper, a chaplain in Sherman's Army, in which he remembers General Lee referring to General Grant and "praising his great and tender heart and his thoughtful remembrance of the poor Southern people."

The North Carolina BOOKLET, April (III, 12), reprints from the State Normal Magazine an article by the late Daniel R. Goodloe, dealing with the dispute between Georgia and North Carolina, 1806-10, over certain lands lying in Buncombe County, North Carolina, but claimed by Georgia. The matter was settled by commissioners from the two States, who gave all of the territory in dispute to North Carolina.

The May number (IV, No. 1), gives Professor Kemp P.

Battle's account of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina (pp. 37). The major part is devoted to sketches of the eight original grantees, the share of each partner being traced to the close of the proprietary period, but no extensive sketches of later proprietors are given.

June prints an account of the Revolutionary battle of Ramsaur's Mill, by Major Wm. A. Graham, based on the account prepared by his grandfather, General Joseph Graham, and which has recently appeared in his *Life of General Graham*. (D. pp. 23). Monthly, \$1.00 per year.

THE SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY, July, 1904, Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 201-297, \$2.00 yearly, 50 cents singly, Durham, N. C.

Contents: 1. Some educational needs of the South, by W. P. Few, Ph. D. 11 pp., better primary, secondary, technical and collegiate training, especially in the development of character. Sweeping statements such as all educational reform must begin at the top.

2. Theodor Mommsen: His place in modern scholarship, by William Kenneth Boyd. 9 pp., readable sketch of work on Rome, with view of the man.

3. The Persians of Timotheus, by Charles W. Pepler. 11 pp., scholarly account with translation of this mutilated Greek poem of more than four centuries B. C.; the oldest extant Greek manuscript; found in February, 1902, in Egypt.

4. Maryland in the Revolution, by Bernard C. Steiner, Ph., D. 5 pp., essay only.

5. The educational significance of modern language, by John Christian Ransmeier, Ph. D. 12 pp., trains in accuracy and increases the vocabulary, also develops the memory; thus disciplines for life work.

6. Senator Hoar's Reminiscences, by William Garrott

Brown. 3 pp., a literary not critical review of Hoar's Autobiography.

7. Civilization and the post office, by Brent Moore. 6 pp., rhetorical, a little historical, sketch of the work and development of the post office.

8. Industrial development in Alabama during the Civil War, by Walter L. Fleming. 13 pp., a thoroughly scientific article covering the military industries, private manufacturing, especially salt.

9. Massachusetts and the New England Confederation, by Helen Henry Hodge. 12 pp., account, with numerous foot notes and quotations of the union of colonies, 1639-1650.

10. Some recent products of the new school of Southern fiction, by John Raper Ormond. 5 pp., sophomoric in its cocksure judgment; bald assertions such as the sons of the old planters are not "doing things in the South to-day."

11. Book reviews. 8 pp.

In the *Century* for April Dr. S. Weir Mitchell begins a new biography of Washington. It is couched in the form of an autobiography and is dated in 1797, when Washington had retired from public life and had found time for reflection and reminiscence. The chapters for April and May deal with his youth and are written with all the grace and elegance of style of which Dr. Mitchell is so well known as master. From the charm and naivete, from the simplicity, unstudied grace and freedom from affectation the casual reader might easily believe it to be a true autobiography written by Washington in his old age for his own delectation and with no thought of subsequent publication. In fact, the writer of this note ventures the prediction that before many years this biography will be quoted by the more careless writers as a true autobiography. The June number introduces Washington to his work as a land surveyor and maintains wonderfully well the fiction of authorship.

THE GENEALOGICAL QUARTERLY MAGAZINE, April, 1904, Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 56, \$3.00 yearly, 75 cents singly, Boston, Mass.

Contents: 1. Genealogical gleanings in England, by Henry F. Waters. Edited, arranged and completed by Lothrop Withington. (Continued.) 15 pp., alphabetically coming down to Andrews, 1597.

2. Marriages and deaths in Georgia Colony, 1763-1800. Compiled from newspaper files. By William Alfred Bishop. (Continued.) 17 pp., from the Georgia Gazette down to 1798.

3. Early records of the First Church in Cambridge, Mass. Copied by Stephen P. Sharples. (Continued.) 24 pp., births, deaths, marriages and minutes, baptisms.

NOTES AND NEWS.

HISTORICAL ENTHUSIASM.—Although with only a short record behind them the people of Kansas make up in generosity and activity for the deficiency of years. The State Historical Society is most liberally treated by the Legislature with money and with quarters. Not only is an annual volume issued but a museum is being developed and a large library being gathered. Most energetic are the managers to get complete files of newspapers of the State and all pamphlets and other fugitive issues, besides maps, charts, and pictures. There are now on the shelves some 60,000 volumes and nearly 100,000 pamphlets. The additions last year were over 10,000. The society receives a large number of every State publication which it uses for exchange purposes. Great interest is being aroused to mark every place that can be magnified into historic significance. The schools are being enlisted to set up stones at all important places along the old Santa Fe trail. An unusual feature is a mass of clippings about the great flood of 1903. There are a democratic breeziness and plainness that are in keeping with the great breadth and stretch of prairie. A memento of last year's flood is a mud-incased Bible from the family of Congressman Curtis. There is also the pulpit Bible of a Topeka church that floated in the water for some hours while the church was getting some two feet of mud on the floor. Not only is this religious relic donated, but a list of those who shoveled out the mud goes with it. The two shin bones of W. C. Quantrill repose in a case, while he is frankly described by the Secretary as "the most historic devil developed by the Civil War." The secretary is undoubtedly right when he speaks of the vigorous peculiarities of Kansas history.

SECRETARY OF VIRGINIA MILITARY RECORDS.—In order to facilitate the collection of the records of Virginia troops in the Confederate Army, for the use of the War Department, in making a compilation of the officers and enlisted men of the Union and Confederate armies, the General Assembly of Virginia has provided for the appointment and compensation of a Secretary of Virginia military records. The act governing the subject was approved March 7, 1904. The secretary is to be appointed by the Governor, upon the recommendation of the commander of the Grand Camp of Confederate Veterans of Virginia. It is made his duty to collect all muster rolls, records, and other materials showing the officers and enlisted men of the several companies, battalions, regiments, and other military organizations from Virginia in the armies, marine or naval service of the Confederate States, and the names of all Virginians of whatever rank, in the military, marine or naval service of the Confederate States, whether regulars or volunteers (militia or reserves.) The materials collected by him are to be turned over to the State Librarian of Virginia, who is charged with the duty of transmitting them to the United States War Department. The secretary is given a term of office of one year, and a compensation of \$1,800 per annum. A small contingent fund is provided for the traveling and other necessary expenses to be incurred in the performance of his duties. Mr. Robert W. Hunter, of Virginia, has received the appointment.

FINANCES OF CONFEDERATE VETERANS. — The new adjutant general, William E. Mickle, in his last report, has been very successful with the most difficult phase of all organizations—the money supply. When he took charge at the beginning of 1903 he found a debt of nearly \$2,400. By unusual executive skill he has reduced this to \$750, but he also makes mention of much difficulty in raising the

fund. The average outsider never realizes the vast amount of work in connection with such an organization. One item though is an index; including letters, receipts, and other matter the office had to handle about 150,000 pieces of mail matter in one year.

PIONEER MONUMENT.—What is supposed to be the first county pioneer monument in the South was dedicated at Selmer, Tenn., during the past summer. Gen. M. J. Wright, who was the originator of the idea and most active in pushing the matter to completion, delivered the historical address. Others taking part were Rev. T. F. Sanders, H. P. Wood, J. C. Houston, J. M. Mitchell, T. Abernethy, T. M. Darnell, W. P. Basinger, D. M. Wisdom, Mrs. J. S. Perkins, A. W. Stovall, J. V. Wright, J. W. Purviance, M. Kirkpatrick. There was a very large attendance from the surrounding country.

MONUMENT TO FIRST CONFEDERATE TO FALL.—On June 1, at Fairfax Courthouse, Va., a monument of rough granite was unveiled to the memory of John Q. Marr, who it is believed by many was the first to lose his life in the Civil War, though it has been disputed by a North Carolina claim. The following took part in the exercises: R. W. Moore, J. N. Ballard, Rev. E. Meade, H. M. Clakson, R. W. Hunter, D. A. Grimsley, G. L. Christian, Gen. Hunton, Judge Goode, Attorney-General Anderson and Governor Montague, of Virginia. There was a very large crowd in attendance and the entire day was enjoyed, the occasion being varied with the singing of national patriotic songs. The inscription on the monument reads as follows:

"This stone marks the scene of the conflict of the war of 1861-1865, when John Q. Marr, captain of the Warrenton Rifles, who was the first soldier killed in action, fell about 800 feet s., 46 w. (Mag.), of this spot, June 1, 1861. Erected by Marr Camp, C. V., June 1, 1904."

BRONZE STATUE OF GOV. WM, SMITH, OF VIRGINIA.—The General Assembly of Virginia, by act approved March 7, 1904, gave authority and permission to Miss Mary Amelia Smith, Colonel Thomas Smith and others to erect a bronze statue of Governor William Smith upon the capitol square, in the city of Richmond, at a spot to be designated by the Governor of the Commonwealth and the Register of the Land Office.

MEXICAN WAR REUNION.—Captain LeRoy Wiley, Secretary of the Association of Mexican War Veterans, announces that the reunion will be held in St. Louis on September 15 and 16 next. The latter of these days has also been set aside as Mexico day, and it is expected that President, Diaz, of that Republic, will address this body of men who invaded his land more than half a century ago—a very beautiful symptom of forgetfulness of past strife.

THE NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY has been incorporated in Washington for the purpose of studying history, genealogy and possibly heraldry. They may issue a periodical, but for the present they will utilize the *Historical Bulletin* of Washington for coming before the public. The president is Captain C. H. Campbell, the secretary is J. F. Brandenburg, 915 French street.

The corporation is to be perpetual and under the management of seven directors. The directors for the first year are Charles H. Campbell, Newton L. Collamer, Alfred B. Dent, Mrs. C. W. Dunlap, Miss Susan R. Hetzel, Miss Minnie F. Mickley, and Joseph F. Brandenburg.

The incorporators were C. H. Campbell, Susan R. Hetzel, J. F. Brandenburg, Ruth M. Griswold Praler, Edwin Allston Hill, J. G. B. Bulloch, Edward E. Wilson and Mary Desha.

A list of forty-nine charter members of the organization was appended to the certificate of incorporation.

A NOBLE EXAMPLE.—The State of Iowa has appropriated \$200,000 for a building to contain the historical commission of the State. It also gives \$7,500 annually as permanent aid to the State Historical Society. This one Western State does more for the cause of history than all the Southern States put together.

AUTHOR OF DIXIE.—D. D. Emmett, who is credited with the creation of this famous song was buried at Mt. Vernon, Ohio, on July 1 to the tune that he had made so widely popular. He is said to have been a man of deeply religious nature, although a comedian. He died on June 28. In the *Washington Post*, of July 25 last, is an extract from Baltimore *Sun* denying the authorship of Emmett and claiming it for Harry McCarthy, who died in 1874.

CONSTITUTION OF THE SOUTHERN HISTORY ASSOCIATION.*

ARTICLE I.

This organization shall be named "The Southern History Association."

ARTICLE II.

Its objects shall be the study of the history of the Southern States, the encouragement of original research, discussion and conference among members, the widening of personal acquaintance, the publication of work, and the collection of historical materials.

ARTICLE III.

All persons interested in its objects shall be eligible to membership.

ARTICLE IV.

1. Its officers shall be a President, six Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Administrative Council, consisting of fifteen members, in addition to the above officers.

2. Said officers shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

3. The President shall be the general executive officer of the Association; and in his absence any Vice-President may act.

4. The Secretary shall keep the records of the Association, and conduct its correspondence, except as otherwise provided.

5. The Treasurer shall keep the accounts of the Associ-

*Organized in Washington, D. C., April 24, 1896.

ation with its members, and conduct all correspondence in connection therewith.

6. The Administrative Council shall have and exercise general power and supervision over the work of the Association, govern the Secretary and the Treasurer in the exercise of their duties above, elect members, direct all publications of the Association, and provide for its meetings. It may meet as often as necessary for the execution of its work, and five members shall constitute a quorum. The Secretary of the Association shall be its Secretary, and a full record of its proceedings shall be kept by him. An annual report of its several transactions shall be made to the Association.

ARTICLE V.

Annual dues shall be three dollars; and life membership dues shall be thirty dollars.

ARTICLE VI.

This Constitution may be amended by a three-fourths vote of those present at any annual meeting.

ARTICLE VII.

The offices of Secretary and Treasurer may be held by one and the same person.*

*This Article, VII, was an amendment adopted at the Annual Meeting held December 3, 1897.

OFFICERS, 1904.

PRESIDENT:

General MARCUS J. WRIGHT.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

General M. C. BUTLER.

Mr. THOMAS NELSON PAGE

Colonel GEORGE A. PORTERFIELD.

President WOODROW WILSON.

HONORABLE S. PASCO.

SECRETARY AND TREASURER:

COLYER MERIWETHER, Ph. D., *Washington, D. C*

ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL:

(In addition to the above-named Officers):

Professor KEMP P. BATTLE.

STEPHEN B. WEEKS, Ph. D.

Colonel R. A. BROCK.

Mr. ALEXANDER SUMMERS.

Professor R. HEATH DABNEY.

President GEO. T. WINSTON.

Professor JOHN R. FICKLEN.

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Professor CHAS. LEE SMITH.

Mr. B. F. JOHNSON.

Professor W. C. STUBBS.

Col. JOHN B. BROWNLOW.

Prof. GEORGE P. GARRISON.

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE:

Gen. M. J. WRIGHT.

Dr. STEPHEN B. WEEKS.

Col. JOHN B. BROWNLOW.

Dr. COLYER MERIWETHER.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE SOUTHERN HISTORY ASSOCIATION.

ADGER, MISS WILLIAN, 1109 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
ALLISON, HON. W. B., U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C.
ANDREWS, MRS. A. B., Raleigh, N. C.
*ANDREWS, MR. O., 621 St. Paul St., Baltimore, Md.
AMHERST COLLEGE LIBRARY, Amherst, Mass.
ARNOLD, B. W., Jr., Ph. D., Randolph-Macon's Woman's College, College Park, Va.
ASHEVILLE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, Asheville, N. C.
BAKER, J. M., Senate Library, Washington, D. C.
BALL, REV. T. H., Crown Point, Ind.
BANCROFT, SAMUEL, Jr., Rockford, Wilmington, Del.
BARBOUR, J. F., President Bank of Maysville, Maysville, Ky.
BARSTOW, GEORGE E., Barstow, Texas.
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VICE-PRESIDENT ANDREW JOHNSON.

BY DAVID M. DEWITT.

I.

On Saturday, the fourth day of March, 1865, as the hour of noon drew nigh, the Senate chamber at Washington was crowded with a most distinguished assemblage. In the lower semi-circles of seats and in the space in front of the secretary's desk where a single empty chair in the centre signified that the expected President was to be his own successor, were gathered cabinet officers, judges of the Supreme Court, ministers plenipotentiary, officers of the army and navy; while in the upper semi-circles on one side were massed the senators themselves, and on the other the representatives who, by reason of their number, overflowed into all the unoccupied spaces in the rear and even into the corridors outside. In the chair of the presiding officer, placed as high above the secretary as that officer was above the floor, sat Vice-President Hamlin; on his left Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the out-going House, and on his right Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President-elect. The galleries were crammed to their utmost capacity—the ladies' quarter, resembling a vast bank of flowers jeweled with the morning dew, shedding sweet influence upon the scene below.

The situation of the country at the moment added an unwonted impressiveness to the occasion and clothed the customary ceremonies with a peculiar solemnity. The fires of civil war, after nearly four years of raging, still blazed all around the southern horizon; but the supineness with which Grant was met as he stubbornly drew the toils tighter and tighter about Petersburg and Richmond, and the consecutive fall of stronghold after stronghold as Sherman, after having ploughed his way through the heart of the Confederacy, swept northward along the coast, gave increasing assurance that the end of the fratricidal strife was nigh. Abraham Lincoln, the leader of the Union for the last tremendous four years, was now to enter upon another term, and in the second office of the government a resident of the rebellious South was to take the place of a resident of the loyal North to mitigate, as was imagined, the too sectional aspect of the administration.

As the hands of the Senate clock creep towards the hour of twelve, the Vice-President, whose official hours are just about to be numbered, gives one tap with his gavel, rises, and, after the usual farewell remarks, inquires whether the Vice-President, whose official hours are about to begin, is ready to take the oath of office. To this inquiry, the figure on the right makes affirmative response, steps forward away from his predecessor who is about to offer him the book, and breaks out into an address to the audience. For an incoming Vice-President to preface his oath with a speech, there was nothing unusual. Since the day when John Adams condescended to accept what he designated as "a respectable office" however "dangerous to my reputation or disproportional to my abilities," this had indeed been the practice. But the remarks of the second officer in the government, far from being classed with the inaugurals of the first, were regarded as but perfunctory performances; and no time was allotted before the entrance of the President-

elect for anything more than the delivery of the common-places appropriate to the case of an officer taking his seat in the body over which he was in the future to preside. Such, however, was not to be the character of the present address. The Vice-President-elect seems to have predetermined that his own inauguration should be something more than an empty form, and himself something more than a lay figure. In contrast with his first predecessor, so far from belittling he felt bound to magnify his office. Two ideas seem to have preoccupied his mind—one, the nullity of all social distinctions before the omnipotence of the sovereign people—as exemplified in his own career; the other, the rescue of his own State from the embrace of the rebellion brought about so largely by his own efforts, as typifying the policy and method by which all her insurrectionary sisters should be restored to the communion of States.

Than an address of this tenor, nothing could have been more appropriate to the situation at that moment; but its effectiveness was fearfully marred by the manner of its delivery. As Andrew Johnson stood the focus of that brilliant assemblage, every eye could discern that he was not himself. His rugged countenance was deeply flushed, his voice husky, his bearing strange, his speech incoherent and disfigured by familiar colloquialisms. In stubborn pursuit of the first of the two ideas we have indicated, he rang the changes on the autobiographic reminiscence that he himself was a "plebian boy"; (he wanted "to talk just about two minutes about that"); and on the democratic axiom that senators, heads of departments, judges of the Supreme Court, nay even the President they were waiting for, were mere creatures of the people's will, as well as himself; (he wanted "to talk just two minutes about that.") And, in illustration of this doctrine, pointing with his finger at the cabinet officers before him, he called them one after the other by name: "You, Mr. Secretary Seward," and "You, Mr. Secretary Stanton,"

and "You"—coming to the Secretary of the Navy—"and you, Secretary—"who is the Secretary of the Navy?" failing for the moment to recall the name of Gideon Welles who was to stand by him so staunchly in the tough conflicts ahead. "Who is the Secretary of the Navy?"—appealing in bewilderment to the officials immediately around him. In a word his demeanor was that of a man overcome by strong drink or suddenly seized by some hidden trouble of the brain.

But, nevertheless, whatever the cause of his mental disturbance, Andrew Johnson seemed bound to have his word out. He saw not the horrified astonishment depicted on the high-bred faces before him. He heard not the impatient murmurs in the background of the assembly: "Why does not some one stop him?" "Has he no friends?" He heeded not the timorous nudging from behind of his distracted predecessor. Lost to all the proprieties of place, as well as to the flight of the precious moments, with lowered head buffeting from side to side the encircling mists, he lunged forward to the goal he had set before him.

And when he escaped from allusions to his own self and to his wonderful elevation—allusions which seemed to arouse in his bosom a very tumult of emotions—and struck on the track of his second idea—the freeing of Tennessee from Confederate thralldom—his thoughts grew clearer, his sentences more coherent, his manner calmer; so that in the latter half of what might otherwise have been condemned as mere egotistic and repetitious chatter, he was actually able to announce with no uncertain sound the key-note of what was to be, in the impending future, his Policy of Reconstruction.

"Before I conclude this brief inaugural address, in the presence of this audience—and I, though a plebian boy, am authorized by the principle of the government under which I live to feel proudly conscious that I am a man, and grave dignitaries are but men—before the Supreme Court, the representatives of foreign Governments,

Senators and people, I desire to proclaim that Tennessee, whose representative I have been is free. She has bent the tyrant's rod, she has broken the yoke of slavery, and to-day she stands redeemed! She waited not for the exercise of power by Congress; it was her own act, and she is now as loyal, Mr. Attorney General, as is the State from which you come. It is the doctrine of the Federal Constitution that no State can go out of the Union; and moreover Congress cannot eject a State from the Union. Thank God, Tennessee has never been out of the Union! It is true the operations of her government were for a time interrupted; there was an interregnum; but she is still in the Union and I am her representative. This day she elects her Governor and Legislature, which will be convened on the first Monday of April, and again her Senators and Representatives will soon mingle with those of her sister States; and who shall gainsay it, for the Constitution requires that to every State shall be guaranteed a republican form of government."

The fundamental article of his political creed—in spite of physical infirmity and mental obfuscation, he managed to get it out. And, then, for a moment, the murmur of his voice ceased. Swinging round with his back to the audience, he stretched out his hand to the Book held by the horror-stricken Hamlin, and, with stammering tongue and many mistakes, repeated after him, one by one, the clauses of the oath. Holding the Book uplifted above his head and turning round to face his hearers, he started to explain his view of the solemn obligation he had just taken upon himself; but the ordeal had become unendurable. The hour of twelve had passed unheeded by. President Lincoln had quietly walked in and taken the empty chair. The new Vice-President was admonished by those around him that further speech was not permissible. Assuming the seat of the presiding officer, he opened the extra session and swore in the new senators by handing them the Bible and omitting the oath. The Secretary of the Senate quickly supplied the omission, and then the painful spectacle was over. Around the simple hero of the hour, the assemblage quickly resolved itself into a procession and, in due order, took up its march to the central portico. There, to the multitude standing in the open air, the President read that short and pathetic ad-

dress, in which there was neither incoherence nor incongruity but which topped the occasion like a coronet of plain gold.

Saturday, just six weeks hence—Abraham Lincoln died by assassination, and Andrew Johnson, “the plebian boy,” took another oath of office.

(To be continued.)

GEN. JOSEPH MARTIN AND THE CHEROKEES.

[The following letters, part already printed as indicated, are from the correspondence of General Joseph Martin and deal principally with Cherokee history, 1778-88. While they were used by Dr. Stephen B. Weeks in his biography of General Martin (Report American Historical Association, 1894,) it is believed that they have never been printed in full before. They are from the originals now in the Draper collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society, except those for May 20, 1783, and Jan. 20, 1787, of which the originals are in hands of Dr. Weeks and that of Apr. 2, 1802, in hands of S. M. Young, Dixon Springs, Tenn. Other letters of General Martin on Cherokee matters will be found in the North Carolina State Records, Calendar of Virginia State Papers and in the Correspondence of Patrick Henry. Summaries and bracketed matter by the editors. —EDITOR.]

CHRISTIAN TO MARTIN ON CATTLE FOR INDIANS.

Botetourt, July 8th 1778.

Dear Captain

I heard you were gone out to Fort Henry again and suppose you will be at Chote before this overtakes you; but I have rec^d no letter from you since I saw you. I have been very uneasy on account of Baley's being so long in delivering the Indians their Cattles but I hope it will soon be done now. I cant hear of your being at Williamsburg since you came in, but I guess you were not. I have not been down since I saw you nor can I go, until Bayley finishes the cattle business. Settles with one. For God's sake be of what service you can in farwarding it.—The Ammunition to be given for the Sheep will be sent out this Summer, or next fall, but I don't expect it will be done until I go down. You may tell the Indians, I will get it for them.

[Extract from Williams Christian's letter to Capt. Joseph Martin.]

GREENE'S COMMISSION TO WM. CHRISTIAN, WM. PRESTON,
ARTHUR CAMPBELL AND JOSEPH MARTIN, ESQs., OF
VA., AND TO ROBERT SEVERE, EVAN SHELBY, JOS.
WILLIAMS AND JOHN SEVERE, OF N. C., TO
TREAT WITH THE CHEROKEES AND
CHICKSAWS AND DETERMINE
THEIR BOUNDARIES.

By the Honorable Nath^l. Greene Esq^r Major General in the
Service of the United States and Commanding Officer of
the Southern department.

To William Christian, William Preston, Arthur Campbell,
& Joseph Martin Esquires, of the State of Virginia, and
Robert Severe, Evan Shelby, Joseph Williams, and John Se-
vere of the State of North Carolina Esquires.

Whereas there have arose hostilities between the subjects
of the United States situated on the western frontier of Vir-
ginia and North Carolina, and the nations or Tribe of In-
dians called the Cherokees and Chiccasaws from a mutual
apprehension of encroaching on the Lands of each other.
And it being represented to me that a mutual desire hath
taken place between the contending parties, to treat on an
adjustment of their respective limits, for an exchange of
prisoners, of a suspension of hostilities, on conclusion of
a peace, which treaty, those concerned, subjects of the
United States, conceive they are not at present authorized
to enter into. And it being essentially interesting to the ser-
vice of the Southern department that a speedy close be put
to the said hostilities, and that harmony between the con-
tending parties be restored. I do therefore, as commanding
Officer of the Southern department hereby nominate & ap-
point you, the said William Christian, W^m. Preston, Arthur
Campbell, Joseph Martin, Robert Severe, Evan Shelby, Jo-
seph Williams, & John Severe Esquires, or any five of you,
commissioners on the part of the United States, to meet

such commissioners, as the said Tribes or Nations of Indians shall appoint on their part, at such time & at such place within the disputed ground as shall be agreed on for the purpose of treating on the adjustments of their respective limits of each party, an exchange Prisoners, a suspension of hostilities, conclusion of a peace, or any thing else for the establishment of harmony and good understanding between the contending parties, as to you may seem proper, subject to the confirmation of Congress. In adjusting the limits of the respective parties, you are to be governed by the laws of the said two States of Virginia and North Carolina within their respective boundaries. You are to exchange such mutual pledges for securing an observance of the treaties concluded on, as may be thought necessary, and you are hereby charged to call on the Lieutenants or commanding Officers of the adjacent Counties within the said two States for force and assistance to prevent any future encroachments of the subjects of the United States on the Lands of the said tribes or Nations of Indians. And as it will contribute much to remove the jealousies, now entertained by those Tribes of Indians, and the laying a foundation for the establishment of harmony and a good understanding between the subjects of the United States & them; to afford the said Tribes of Indians every mark of our good disposition towards them;—You will call on them to appoint certain Persons from amongst themselves to go to Congress, for obtaining such enlargements, or confirmations of their Treaties as may appear to them requisite.

This Commission is to continue in force till revoked by the commanding officer of the Southern department, the commander in chief of the American Army or the Honable the Congress of the United States.

Given under my hand in Camp in Caswell County, North Carolina this twenty-sixth day of February, one thousand seven hundred & eighty one.

NATH GREENE.

Attest,

WILLIAM PIERCE JR. Sec. Y.

MARTIN ON HIS EXPEDITION AGAINST THE INDIANS.

[Printed pp. 64-65, Vol. 2, Cal. of Va. State Papers.]

Long Island 22^d of April, 1781.

Dear Sir:

I returned to this place on Friday last after a tour of nineteen days. It happened very fortunate our going out at the time we did, as there was a large body of Indians collected in Powell's Valley, which we should most certainly fallen in with if Maj^r. Lewis had not alarmed them. It was at one camp where there could not have been less than a hundred; several other traces of smaller parties, all making towards the mouth of Powell's River. Only one party, which seemed the freshest, we followed about thirty miles below Cumberland Gap, came up with them encampt, surrounded them undiscovered, but the camp being so close we could not discover them before they ran out—we fired about thirty guns on them; several of them seemd to be badly wounded. The cane was so thick they could not be pursued on horseback; we got five guns, blankets, shot-pouches, &c. One of their horns was wrote in full John Brown. The said Brown was killed in Cumberland Gap, which induces me to believe it is the party that always watches that place. By such a body as was collecting, it appears that they either intended to attack the Stations, or strike a heavy blow on our frontiers. I made no stay at the camp, but pushed on as fast as possible for about seventy miles farther, being still on fresh sign, when the men stopped, and refused to go any

further, saying I was taking them to Chickamogga; that we were too weak; their provisions near out and their horses tired. I did everything in my power to prevail on them to go about ten miles further, but could not. I am convinced we were within a few miles of some town, as I saw where they took in meat on horseback the blood not dry on the bushes.

They have taken a number of horses that way this Spring. I should write more particular, but Mr. Ben. Price will deliver this to you, who will give you a particular account of the whole. In the mean time, I beg leave to inform you, that I am very desirous of going to the end of the path we left, if men & provisions can be had at any rate, as our frontier must expect great distress from that quarter if they are not broken up. Mr. Price says if he meets with your approbation he can raise 50 men at any time. He has behaved very well on this tour, being one of the spies. Our whole stock of provisions at setting out from Cove was $2\frac{1}{2}$ of bacon half a bushel of corn per man—our strength 65 men including officers.

I am, Sir, with great regard your most obt. ssvt.

JOS. MARTIN.

MARTIN TO ARTHUR CAMPBELL.

[Abstract only already printed, p. 143, Vol. 2, Cal. Va. State papers.]

Long Island, 4th June, 1781.

Dear Colonel—

Last night Charles Murphey and two others came to this place, being sent by the warriors to give notice that there are about 300 on their way to the treaty. The messengers I sent to postpone it, missed of them by going through the woods, which I directed them to do, as I found they were waylaid. Should it be any ways convenient, I should be glad you would come down immediately. Murphy gives a

very satisfactory account. As I suppose you have heard of one Crawford who lately came in with a very alarming account, which is not to be credited; though more of that when you come down. Those coming by land I expect will be stopt, as I expect the messengers I sent got to the Towns before they started—though several canoes had started before Murphy left, that chiefly women & children, which I expect you will think to be policy to keep till the treaty, which is put off until ye. 20th of July: If so, you will please to direct the Commissary to provide for them, as I am without corn, meat and money.

I have sent express to Col. Sevier to be here as soon as possible, though I am informed that the alarm that Crawford gave them, has drawn him to the frontiers with all the force he can raise.

Col. Bledsoe, who is now with me, desires to see you here as soon as possible. If you can not come, please to write immediately down.

I will endeavor to keep Murphey till I see or hear from you.

I am with great regard,
Your most ob^t Serv^t,
JOS. MARTIN.

To Arthur Campbell.

MARTIN TO GOVERNOR HARRISON DENYING THE CHARGES
OF CONVERTING LEAD TO HIS OWN USE; INDIAN
AFFAIRS.

July of 22^d 1782.

Sir,

I received yours of 13 Instant which is all the Letters I have received of yours Since I saw you last and only the one with the Governors. Daugherty Came by & went to Col^l Smith But I heard of no letter—as to the lead you mention the Governor mentions it in his letter that the Executive

was informed by you that the 1500 lb. of lead Sent me for the use of the Cherokees I had Converted to my own use I am at a loss to know your Reasons for Ledging any such Charges as I have never heard of any Such lead. when I was Down in December last the Executive gave me an order for 2000 lb of lead on my own private act to Sell to the Settlers—which will appear on their Books of that Date which is all the lead I have Rec^d. Since the Treaty or heard of I beg Mr. Jamison may be applyed to who was at that Time Lieut. Governor and signed the order mentioning the particular use it was for—I Beg Sir that you will as soon as possible Inform the Governor how it is I intended Immediately Down myself on purpose but had but one horse fit for use and on Tuesday last my Boy run away & Stole him & I expect gone to Kentucky Ellis Harlin Returned last night from the Nation who informs that the Chickaamogga Indians are Desirous for peace that they was to Set out for Chota with the prisoners the Day he left there that Harington is there waiting there arrival at which time he is to Come for me to go and Receive them I expect him Every hour Harlin has Brought a large quantity of Beads & Talks in but he is very Sick & not able to give them out otherwise Should Send them to you—the old Warror has sent to me Informing that he has Resigned his authority with the Consent of the whole Nation to his Son; Tuckesey or Tarripine—he is the man that went Down with Col^o. Gist Some years past Commander of that party & Desires that I will Come & Dubb him in the name of Congress but I think not to Concern in that before I hear What the Governor will Say on that Subject—the powder that was ordered for the use of the Indians I Beg you will hurry Down as soon as possible as promises will no Longer Do—I beg Sir that you will not fail Leting the governor know how matters Stand in particular the lead as nothing Gives me more pain than to be under the Displeasure of my Superiors. The Governor men-

tions in his letter that gen^l. green has appointed Commissioner to settle Indian Business Desires I may Consult with them I expect they are the same that was to hold the Treaty last—I have sent this Day to Col^o. Savier to appoint a place to meet Col^o. Shelby and myself at which time if they think of Giving Chickamogga Terms Shall send for you and Col^o. Christian tho I hardly think they will listen to anything as I am informed the officers of Washington met on friday last to appoint the Day they should Start I wish you Could Come Down yourself Immediately as I am well assured it would answer a great purpose if you Cant Come please to write to me Immediately—I have much more to Say but must reserve it for another letter

am as usual your very humble Sevt.

JOS. MARTIN.¹

¹ Col. Arthur Campbell in commenting on this letter to Gov. Harrison, July 27, 1782, says: "Whilst Col. Martin seems assiduous to promote a conciliatory plan with the Indians, a force is raising, I understand, by order of the Executive of North Carolina to attack all the Cherokee Indians that do not submit to certain terms, low in their nature such as removing to certain spots near our frontier settlement, and live in future by agriculture. Should your Excellency disapprove of such measures in a sister State, of which not only me but the Union may be interested, your representation and influence no doubt, will produce such a revision of the order of North Carolina as may alter its most exceptional parts."

SOME RECENT RACE PROBLEM LITERATURE.¹

BY ALFRED HOLT STONE.

Greenville, Miss.

These six titles below are fairly typical contributions to the already appalling mass of "race problem" literature. They represent a wide range of discussion, and cover a field broad enough to embrace such extremes as the purely historical little book of Professor Collins, and the verbose "proceedings" of the "National Sociological Society."

The smallest of these publications is one of the most interesting, and it is also important by reason of its contributors: *The Work and Influence of Hampton*. For a general outpouring of sentiment, commingled with a display of much more or less excusable ignorance, one does not usually look in vain to the speeches of philanthropists engaged in the pleasing task of "helping the South solve the race prob-

¹The Freedmen's Bureau. A Chapter in the History of Reconstruction. By Paul Skeels Peirce, Ph. D., Instructor in History. Bulletin of the State University of Iowa. Vol. III, No. 1. Published by the University, Iowa City, Iowa. 1904. pp. VII, 200.

The Domestic Slave Trade of the Southern States. By Winfield H. Collins, M. A., Professor of History and English in Claremont College. Broadway Publishing Co., New York, pp. 154.

The Negroes of Columbia, Missouri. A Concrete Study of the Race Problem. By William Wilson Elwang, M. A., Published by Department of Sociology, University of Missouri. 1904. pp. VII, 69.

The Work and Influence of Hampton. Proceedings of a Meeting Held in New York City, February 12, 1904, under the direction of the Armstrong Association. With the Addresses of Mr. Andrew Carnegie, Chairman, President Charles W. Eliot, Dr. H. B. Frissell and Dr. Booker T. Washington, pp. 38.

The Negro Church. A Social Study. Made under the Direction of Atlanta University by the Eighth Atlanta Conference. The Atlanta University Press. Atlanta, Ga., 1903. pp. VIII, 212.

How to solve the Race Problem. The Proceedings of the Washington Conference on the Race Problem in the United States. Under the Auspices of the National Sociological Society. Washington, D. C., 1904. pp. 286.

lem." This gathering was far from being an exception to the rule. Every address delivered abundantly breathed brotherly and sectional love,—and also contained evidences of ignorance. Perhaps "ignorance" is too harsh a term,—it might be fairer to call it a failure to apprehend the true attitude of the Southern white man on certain mooted questions. President Eliot's remarks were by far the most important utterance at the meeting, solely because of the personality of the speaker. They were also the most widely quoted. His tone was kindly throughout,—almost offensively so in places, and occasionally decidedly patronizing. With what calm assurance did he enlighten his auditors upon the resemblances and differences between Northern and Southern opinion concerning the negro! And how crude and offensive, how almost puerile, were some of his statements of Southern attitude!

President Eliot frankly stated that the "differences of practical behavior" toward the negro, as between Northern and Southern people, were attributable simply to the difference in the number of negroes in the two sections. But when he essayed to discuss another "difference" between the sections, he misstated the case in the first instance. It is beyond my ability to understand how an assertion at once so ridiculous and indefensible as the following could have emanated from such a source:

"At the North nobody connects political equality—that is, the possession of the ballot and eligibility to public office—with social equality,—that is, free social intercourse on equal terms in the people's homes. At the South the white population seems to think unanimously that there is a close connection between the two questions following—shall a negro vote or be a letter carrier? And shall he sit with a white man at dinner or marry a white man's sister?"

There can be no question as to the speaker's honesty and sincerity, and the occasion was not one justifying a display

of levity. This statement was unquestionably intended for serious consumption, yet its author could not have better displayed, by any other possible arrangement of words, his utter inability to grasp one of the fundamental elements in the grave situation he was so easily and soothingly discussing.

How great a difference, indeed, is wrought in the sectional points of view by the simple fact of numerical inequality in the distribution of our negro population!

Every letter carrier in my town is a negro and a voter; in my county sits a negro justice of the peace, elected term after term by white voters. Is the head of Harvard indeed so ignorant of the real sentiment underlying the alleged prejudices of several millions of his white fellow citizens as really to imagine that they among whom these negro officials live think as he says they think? It is difficult to believe, yet he so writes himself down. To begin with, the term "social equality," when used by Southern people in discussing phases of the negro question, has no such significance as is here sought to be given it. It is rather loosely used, and may be said to carry with it a conception of any form, or even appearance, of "equality" between the two races, or between individual members of the two. There are but two kinds of "equality" which the Southern white man concedes to the negro: equality of economic opportunity, and equality before the law,—but even here he intends that the framing and administration of the law shall be in his own hands. Opposition to negro voting or office-holding has no basis in any such ridiculous fear as is here alleged,—that the "social" status of such negro will thereby be altered. Where there is such opposition it is based upon an instinctive unwillingness to even *share* government with the negro. Theoretically, however, it may be remarked, President Eliot to the contrary notwithstanding, there is a certain sort of social

and official relationship. We see it in the recognition of certain official circles as coincident with social "sets"; we see it in the social recognition accorded by the head of our government to the various other branches, in the way of official receptions; we see it in the social standing accorded officers in the naval and military branches of all governments. But we have not space in which to pursue this phase of the matter.

President Eliot goes further, however, and makes an unworthy suggestion when he says: "The Southern white sees a race danger in eating at the same table with a negro:

* * * The Northern white sees nothing of the kind. *

* * * His pride of race does not permit him to entertain such an idea. * * * *The Northern white's race feeling seems to be really much more robust than that of the Southern white's. The Northerner's is simply impregnable, like the self respect of a gentleman.*"

Why this unveiled slur? The determination of the Southern people to keep the two races absolutely separate is grounded in no such feeling as can be dismissed with a sneer. It is based upon the high consideration of the general welfare of the State, and rises to the dignity of a fixed canon of public policy, which even the unwilling, if any, are compelled by law and custom to observe for the good of the whole body politic. The individual is required to surrender some measure of his personal freedom to the good of the community. The thirty-odd white men and women who last year in Boston married negroes would not have been permitted to do so in Mississippi. Would President Eliot say that the men who framed the Mississippi statute were afraid lest their daughters became enamored of negro men? The State decrees that there shall be no intermixture of blood sanctioned by the law or the church; that such intermixture shall be placed under the ban, and the stamp of illegitimacy be written upon the brow of an impure offspring; that no

one of her citizens, high or low, no matter how depraved, shall contract such an alliance. So also public opinion, acting with the force of law, says to every white citizen, you shall not break bread with a member of this race, except you suffer the penalty prescribed by your associates,—whatever may be their walk in life. Would President Eliot have the world believe that the Southern man who subscribes to this law, as old as his ancestors, is possessed of less "pride of race" than the Northern man? his "race feeling" less "robust?" This is what he tells us.

He will find the answer to his charges in his own words, the key to his former explanations,—the force and effect of numbers. The white people of the South believe that where two races, as opposed as are the white and black, live together in large masses, public policy, the good of both races, requires the observance of certain regulations in the ordering of their relations toward each other. Furthermore, they are convinced that every single instance of disregard of these established regulations is of harmful tendency, through force of example and suggestion; and this without the least reference whatever to the effect, or absence of effect, upon the parties directly involved. Georgia would not permit a "mixed marriage" within her borders, even though the parties came from Maine; nor would public opinion in Atlanta tolerate the dining together of a negro and a white man from Rhode Island.

All this may be called "race prejudice" by the ignorant, but it is founded in the knowledge and wisdom and sturdy common sense of a whole people, no less than in their traditions. It may be disregarded with possible safety where there is a mere handful of one race in contact with the mass of the other; possibly it may be overridden with impunity where there is only a handful of each; it cannot be safely defied where the millions of the two races,—embracing all degrees and grades and characters and conditions of each—

are destined permanently to occupy the same territory. That the highest welfare of each requires that in living side by side they yet forever live apart, is a proposition conceded by President Eliot himself; yet he would ridicule and belittle the means considered by the Southern people necessary to render it permanently effective.

Dr. Frissell, in a single sentence of his address, shows how easy it is for a half-truth to find lodgment in the mind of a fair and honest man, and largely dominate his point of view. "One of the most important facts about the present situation," he tells us, "is the ignorance of the average Southern white man and woman in regard to the *best* class of negroes." Is this very much more "important" than the ignorance of the average Northern white man and woman in regard to the *worst* class of negroes?—or their ignorance of even the great mass of these people?—or of their average class? Of how much real value is an opinion of an entire race based upon contact with only its exceptional members? even they being largely composed of mulatto types.

Whatever philanthropists or doctrinaires may do or say about the negro, at bottom the question that most concerns him is that of his economic status. In any discussion of such practical matters as those arising out of the industrial position in which he finds himself to-day, the history of his career and development as a free laborer will always be an interesting chapter. Probably no phase of this industrial history is more important than that embraced in the study of the institution which undertook, as one of its objects, to look after his earliest efforts as a laborer in his own right,—the Freedmen's Bureau. Mr. Peirce give a very fair review of the origin and aims of the bureau, and furnishes some insight into its operations. But a great deal more space than is afforded by two hundred pages will be required when the

world is made acquainted with the whole truth of the harm done by this piece of reconstruction machinery.

By far the most important chapter in this study is that on "Land, Labor and Justice,"—(VIII). It was in its administration of that portion of its activities which had to do with the intensely practical freedman labor question, involving the relations between the late master and slave, that the bureau wrought the greatest permanent harm to those whom ostensibly it sought to care for. During the few years of its existence it engendered between the negro and white man a feeling of hostility which the whole course of former relations between the two proves to have been the unnatural product of ignorant interference. The estrangement and hostility thus engendered have proven a handicap to the negro that is beyond computation in its effect upon his life as a free man. Mr. Peirce tells us that the bureau sought to insure such a readjustment of the relations between employers and laborers "as should be consistent with the changed conditions resulting from emancipation." He furthermore thinks that in this it achieved "more marked success" than would be thought possible "from a calm study of the perplexing action," made at this late day. This depends upon the standard we erect as a measure of "success." In any large view of the permanent results to the negro of the operations of the "labor" and "justice" divisions of the bureau, they were among the most miserable of the long array of reconstruction failures.

Mr. Peirce quite plainly holds the opinion that it is no part of the historian's function to condemn further than by reciting facts. He tries to be fair, and this causes us to regret that he did not attempt some summing up of the lasting effects of the operation of this bureau as one of the "agencies of reconstruction." True, he ventures the assertion that "to the Freedmen's Bureau is largely attributable the fact that to-day political lines and race lines are so nearly

coincident in the South." But how very little is there here that suggests that knowledge of the profound and lasting significance of "Reconstruction" to the Southern people which is essential to its proper understanding. That cannot be shown in arrays of figures and bald statements of facts.

Similar to Mr. Peirce's study, in being historical, but very different from it in the aspect of a bearing upon the present economic condition of the negro, is Professor Collins' monograph on the domestic slave trade. It seems almost as impossible for men to agree upon the purely historical aspects of the negro's life as it is to reach a common ground upon the more speculative question of his future status as an American citizen.

One of the most widely accepted ideas concerning the history of the race is that certain of the older slave States, as Virginia and Maryland, at least in the years just preceding the war, engaged extensively in the business of raising slaves to supply the more Southern demand. Professor Collins reaches the conclusion that "these States are not only practically freed from the charge of multiplying slaves and raising them for market as a business, but that, as a rule, they did not sell their slaves unless compelled to do so by pecuniary or other embarrassments." Mr. Collins does not minimize the extent to which a trade in slaves was carried on among the Southern States, but shows that it attained considerable proportions. It is not so much the extent of this trade, however, that has occasioned controversy, as the charge that certain States were engaged in "breeding slaves like cattle, for the Southern market." It is on this that the author's opinion is likely to be questioned, but it is well fortified, and was evidently reached after a careful investigation. The book includes a fair bibliography. His treatment

of his subject seems to be characterized by an eminent degree of fairness, and his conclusions apparently well founded.

The work done under the direction of the Atlanta Conference is entitled to the respectful and thoughtful consideration of every man interested in any aspect of the life of the American negro. The guiding spirit of this work is Dr. DuBois, and he is entitled to the utmost credit for what has been accomplished in the face of the many obstacles confronting his undertaking. Of the studies thus far prosecuted one of the most interesting and valuable is that of *The Negro Church*. It is an historical, as well as a social, study, and covers with commendable thoroughness the religious life of the American negro, from the time of his removal from Africa to the present day. The study embraces the negro's primitive religion, the relation between slavery and Christianity, the societies formed for religious work among slaves, the earlier churches, investigations into present conditions in typical localities and among the several negro denominations, and other features of more than casual interest.

Whatever opinion one may entertain of the character and influence of the negro church in the South, he will find it well worth while to study this report. Our own observation of present conditions may lead to conclusions at variance with most of those given by the contributors, but it is neither safe nor fair solely for that reason to discount their opinions. A people's own estimate of its largest and most important institution is entitled to consideration upon every ground of fairness and liberality. If the white people of the country, North and South, were better acquainted with negro thought and opinion, as given in negro publications, they would understand much better than they do some of

the most important questions arising out of the presence here of two such different races as the African and the Caucasian.

This thought suggests another of our titles,—the reassuring one of "How to Solve the Race Problem." Here we have the proceedings of a meeting of the National Sociological Society. The principal addresses were delivered by white men, it is true, but the society is a negro organization, and the meeting was conducted by negroes. In its discussions negroes took by far the most prominent part, while the white speakers pitched their addresses on lines promising the ready endorsement of their auditors. The tone and temper of these proceedings are of course widely different from the spirit back of the Atlanta Conference, but in a way this publication is of equal abstract value to the student of the "problem."

The man who wonders why the Southern people feel as they do toward Mr. Roosevelt, and who can discover no difference between his attitude and Mr. McKinley's toward the negro, will find here a partial answer to his questionings. It is a favorite "argument" of the President's supporters to adduce the fact that he has appointed fewer negroes to office than did his predecessor. In the mere fact of this numerical difference they find proof conclusive that there is no ground for the Southern contention that Mr. Roosevelt's conduct has established between himself and the negro race relations of a peculiar character. Of course the man whose study of the question has been on rational lines, and has thus involved an acquaintance with the negro's own opinion, as expressed through his own organs, appreciates the absurdity of this proposition. Unfortunately, however, the average "student" of the negro problem takes small account of the negro's view as he himself discloses it. His curriculum does

not embrace a course in negro newspaper reading. He is probably ignorant of the fact that "Our President" has become among many negro organs almost a stock description of the present Chief Executive of the United States. As regards the rather unique relation to the negro in which the President's course has naturally eventuated, probably more than upon any other one subject is there harmony of opinion between the American negro and the Southern white man. If he will carefully go through these proceedings, though he may be left rather hazy as to "How to Solve the Race Problem," if he be honest with himself and his question, the student will at least add something to his stock of knowledge on one of its very present and very acute phases—its relation to current American politics.

In *The Negroes of Columbia, Missouri*, Mr. Elwang has given us an excellent first hand study of the nineteen hundred negroes constituting the colored population of the University town of his State. The study of local conditions is, after all, the best study of the negro race as a whole, and this monograph is a contribution of value in this direction, and is entitled to more extended notice than is possible to accord it here.

The author's own words may be quoted as aptly descriptive of the conditions he discusses: "Politically, there is here the same partisan affiliation as elsewhere in the South. Socially there are exactly the same caste distinctions. Racially there is the same antipathy with tolerance. It is, in a word, the same old and seemingly so hopelessly complex problem of the childish race in competition with the manly." He thinks "we have taken hold of this entire negro problem at the wrong end," and that "it is high time to admit the error and begin aright."

THE NATIONAL ERA AN ABOLITION DOCUMENT.

[The writer has no means of knowing how far the general public was taken into the confidence of Dr. Bailey with the letter of which a copy here follows. It would appear to be one of the many addressed to would-be friends of the principles which the paper was known to advocate. It was in a hand-writing quite different from that of the signature attached. The latter very closely resembles the autograph of Dr. Bailey himself, and is, doubtless genuine. The letter was among others in the private papers of the late ex-Senator James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin. Although directed to no one, it is well known that Judge Doolittle was a strong sympathizer with the principles advocated by the *National Era* at the time mentioned. No doubt he was appealed to, with others, for assistance.

The *National Era* became an important organ of the Abolition Party in Washington in 1847. Its editor, Dr. Gamaliel Bailey, had been editor of the *Methodist Protestant* in Baltimore in 1836, and later, with James G. Birney, started the *Philanthropist*, an anti-slavery paper, in Cincinnati. The printing office and press of the latter were several times destroyed by mobs, but the publication of the paper was continued till 1847, when it was merged with the *National Era*. That office several times passed the ordeal of mob violence. It was managed with considerable enterprise till the death of its editor and proprietor.

The paper was the recognized organ of the anti-slavery party at the National Capital.

It published Harriet Beecher Stowe's romance of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" as a serial, commencing in 1851 and concluding in 1852.

Dr. Bailey was born in Mount Holly, New Jersey, December 3rd, 1807, and died at sea June 5th, 1859, while *en route* for Europe for his health.

DUANE MOWRY,
Milwaukee, Wis.]

WASHINGTON, Oct. 1858.

MY DEAR SIR:

Shall the National Era be continued? A strange question you may think in relation to a paper reputed to be so flourishing. Once it was flourishing but that time has gone by.

Commenced as the *Pioneer Press of Liberty* on slave soil, a general enthusiasm was awakened in its favor. Its struggle with the mob, and its triumph, which established in the

Capital of the Union, the Liberty of discussion, enlisted for it still further support.

As the Political Anti-Slavery feeling of the country extended, finding few papers to give it utterance, it naturally concentrated on the *Era* as its leading exponent. So its list went up to twenty-five thousand, an unprecedented number for a paper published in Washington City. But events soon occurred that reduced its patronage. First, its struggle to prevent the Anti-Slavery cause from being submerged by Know-Nothingism cost it several thousand subscribers. Next, the organization of the Republican Party, in the formation of which it had taken a leading part, brought into the field such a host of newspapers professing like principles, that very many of my readers withdrew from my support, for the purpose of subscribing to them. The *Tribune*, *Post* and *Times*, of New York, once in opposition, now coöperating with us, putting their large and excellent weeklies at \$1. a year to clubs, which they were enabled to do by the rich advertising custom of their Dailies, everywhere underbid us, and subjected the *Era* to a competition hard to withstand. Beside, there were too many tender footed adherents of the new Party who were not unwilling that the paper should lose much of its prominence and influence.

The result has been a steadily decreasing list. Once the *Era* could boast its twenty-five thousand subscribers, to-day, it has but twelve thousand, a less number than at any time since the second year of its existence. If this process goes on, the paper must go down. Anti-Slavery men and Republicans do not understand this thing. They are under the false impression that I am growing rich and that the *Era* is established beyond possibility of failure. You have the real state of the case now before you. I want no charity, no contributions. I want and will have no patronage from Congress, no official patronage of any kind. The *Era* must live independently on the custom of its subscribers, or not at all.

I think it important that it should live. It was the first press to raise the standard of freedom in this Capital. Its success was the establishment of the right freely to discuss the Question of Slavery on slave soil. For twelve years it has been prominently identified with the Anti-Slavery movement. It represents specially the Anti-Slavery element of the Republican Party. It has been inflexibly true to its avowed principles and independent of mere Party organization. It has never been a burden to its friends, but always self-sustaining.

For twenty-two years have I devoted the best energies of my life as an Editor and Advocate to the cause of freedom, and I am anxious to continue in the work till flesh and heart fail.

The question then is distinctly presented to you and all its friends—*shall the National Era be continued or not?* What I can do to uphold it shall be done, but that will avail little without the prompt, energetic action of its friends. At every Post-Office there will be a falling off in the list unless someone shall take the trouble to see my subscribers, secure renewals, obtain new names and do what he can to arouse a sentiment in favor of the paper. A general and vigorous effort is absolutely necessary. Will you be the one to make it at your office? Will you spend a little time this fall to keep up the subscriptions? Last year during the hard times my friends promised much for this year. Will they make good the promises? Every facility you need shall be granted. List of subscribers shall be sent, if desired. The *Era* cannot stand against the competition of cheap papers unless its claims be *presented early* and *urged strenuously*.

If unable to do anything yourself, you are at liberty to show this letter to any true and discrete friend of the paper.

For terms, &c., see printed enclosure.

Yours Truly,

G. BAILEY.

THE MEMOIRS OF JAMES MURRAY MASON, CONFEDERATE COMMISSIONER TO ENGLAND.

WALTER L. FLEMING, Professor of History, West Virginia University.

James M. Mason¹ was born at his father's winter home in Georgetown, D. C., on November 3, 1798. He was one of the Virginia Masons descended from Colonel George Mason, a Cavalier officer who fled to Virginia after the death of Charles I. For two hundred years the Masons were prominent in Virginia politics. The subject of this memoir was educated at the University of Pennsylvania and at William and Mary College, and read law in the office of a relative in Richmond. After admission to the bar he began to practice his profession in Winchester, and soon afterward, in 1822, he married Miss Eliza Chew of Philadelphia. His legal career was that of the average successful lawyer of the time. He made enough money at the practice of law to support his family after he entered politics.

From the early letters of himself and wife we learn that they lived the simple home life of the Virginians. There was no display, no luxury, and few servants, Mr. Mason never owning enough slaves for his own domestic service, though he always had several decrepit pensioners to support. The servants, kindly treated, were devoted to their master and his family. Mrs. Mason's letters show that the family life was beautiful, and also that the negro servants were fairly worthless. Whenever she wished anything well done

¹ The Public Life and Diplomatic Correspondence of James M. Mason. With Some Personal History. By His Daughter [Miss Virginia Mason]. Cloth, Octavo, pp. IX+603. Price, \$3.50. Roanoke, Virginia: The Stone Printing and Manufacturing Company. 1903.

she had to do it herself, and yet the responsibility of the mistress for the slaves was burdensome.

We search in vain through the Mason letters and documents for evidences of the ironclad social system that we are often told existed at that time in Virginia. Mrs. Mason's reading list, such as *Boyle's Reflections*, *Knox's Philosophy of True Religion*, *The Power of Religion Over the Mind*, and numerous histories, is an index to the reading of the cultured Southern woman of that period. The Masons read these books together, wrote many letters to kindred and friends and declared that they were perfectly happy. Mr. Mason never acquired any fondness for club life.

In politics Mr. Mason was a Jeffersonian Democrat and believed in the sovereignty of the States. In the State legislature and in Congress he was a strict constructionist from the first. He often voted against measures desired by his constituents and sometimes failed of reelection, but sooner or later his course was approved by his people. Long before the slavery controversy became acute he was afraid of consolidation in the government. Consequently he opposed tariffs, internal improvements, etc., because they strengthened the central government at the expense of the States and robbed the agricultural South for the benefit of other sections. In Virginia he opposed slave representation in the legislature and in the congressional districts. Only the political people should be represented, he maintained. In 1832 during the Nullification troubles he declared that secession and separation rather than nullification was the proper remedy in case of extremity. In House and in Senate, Mason opposed the abolition agitation, and was singled out for especial vituperation by Charles Sumner. He demanded for the Southern States their rights under the constitution and protection for their institutions, believing that Southern society was based on domestic slavery and that it was necessary for the South to preserve its political power in order

to prevent a social revolution forced by outside influences. He had no faith in the assertion of the anti-slavery leaders that no interference within the States was intended. Consequently he opposed the various compromise measures in which the South continually yielded and became weaker.

For ten years, 1851-1861, Mr. Mason was chairman of the Senate committee on foreign relations and in that position acquired a knowledge of diplomatic questions and methods that was useful to him when he became Confederate Commissioner. Like most Southerners he declared that Kosuth was an impostor and opposed the demonstrations in his favor during his visit to the United States. In 1857 Mason was invited to deliver an address at a Bunker Hill celebration. He pleased the New Englanders and was received by them with what Gideon Welles, in 1873, called "sycophantic adulation." In 1859 he was chairman of the special committee to investigate the raid of John Brown into Virginia at Harper's Ferry and with Jefferson Davis and G. N. Fitch presented the majority report. After the election of Lincoln by a sectional party Mason advocated secession as the only way of preventing a social revolution in the South. "It is a social war," he said "declared by the North, a war by one form of society against another distinct form of society." With the other Virginia congressmen he signed, in January, 1861, an address to the people of Virginia declaring that there was no hope of adjustment. When Virginia seceded Mason was sent as commissioner to Maryland and later chosen as a delegate to the Provisional Congress at Montgomery. He did not take his seat, however, until the Confederate government was removed to Richmond.

On August 29, 1861, Mason was appointed special commissioner to Great Britain, with plenipotentiary powers in case England recognized the Confederacy. He ran the blockade from Charleston, was well received in Cuba and in the British West Indies, and embarked on the British mail-

ship, Trent, for England. Of the capture of himself and Mr. Slidell he wrote a full account, which is printed in his daughter's book. Mason was evidently pleased with his capture, for he knew that it would forward his plans in England and that England would demand his release. The United States Congress asked that he be put in a dungeon and treated as a felon, but in January, 1862, he was released and proceeded at once to England. His task there was to present the Confederate side in the questions arising out of the war, to persuade England to refuse to recognize the blockade of the Southern States declared by the Federals, and finally to secure the recognition of the Confederate States as an independent power, which it was generally believed, would end the war. He kept Richmond well informed of the state of affairs in Great Britain and Europe, sending frequent despatches in triplicate by different routes. Most of these reached their destination, sometimes after long delay. On several occasions in order to inform the Confederate government of affairs in Europe Mr. Mason had reports and despatches printed in English and in Northern newspapers which reached Richmond through the North before despatches could come through the regular channels.

Mason was never officially received by Earl Russell, the Prime Minister, but his correspondence with the latter shows that besides asking the English government to repudiate the Federal blockade, he presented a number of reasons why England should recognize the Confederate States. Some of these were: the Confederacy had proven to be a strong government; England needed the cotton produced by the South, and the South needed quantities of English manufactures; by treaty England might get the carrying trade of the South, which had no merchant marine and which did not want to be economically dependent upon the North after the war; and finally recognition would prevent further bloody war. It is a mistaken belief that the English govern-

ment was in any way friendly to the Confederate States. It refused to recognize the Confederacy because it desired no war with the United States, and no alliance or understanding with France in regard to American affairs, because it wanted the United States weakened by war, and because it was unfriendly to slavery. From the beginning France was ready to recognize provided England would act also, but the English ministry treated the overtures of France with contempt. The English government paid no serious attention to the representations of the Confederacy. It was believed that the separation of the United States was permanent, but England had no intention of getting into trouble with the North and no intention of recognizing a slave state.

Among the English people, Mason reported that the feeling of the upper classes was friendly while the laboring classes, so far as they had any opinion, were in favor of the North. The middle classes were indifferent or inclined toward the South. The cotton manufacturers, who might have brought great influence to bear, were not, until 1863, in favor of recognition, because they had large stocks of cotton goods on hand which they had made when cotton was cheap and on which they were making great profits. Public opinion was on the whole, in favor of the South, though at the same time it was opposed to slavery. Confederate refugees were welcomed in England, ships were built for and supplies sent to the Confederates, blockade running encouraged, and numerous clubs favoring the Southern cause were formed, but the English people, because of slavery, would not force the ministry to recognize the Confederate States. Yet, as Mason's despatches show, the Emancipation Proclamation was not well received in England, being looked upon as an attempt to incite servile insurrection.

Mason found that his accounts of military conditions in America were relied upon rather than the Northern ac-

counts, which reached England first in an exaggerated form which later had to be modified. Thus the Confederate official reports which came later were more correct. Though at first troubled, Mason was later helped, by Mr. Seward's habit of sending out forged Confederate documents aimed to irritate the English against the Confederates.

After the disasters of the summer of 1863 the English ministry became more than ever uncivil toward the Confederate commissioner and he was ordered by his government to withdraw from England. During the rest of the war he was Commissioner on the Continent with large powers. Sometimes he visited England as a private gentleman to keep his friends in Parliament informed of Confederate affairs. In the last days Mason was authorized to talk to the ministry on the subject of the gradual emancipation of the slaves. But it was too late. The English heard with approval of the plan of the Confederates for arming the slaves, but Mason thought it would complicate matters by making a number of free negroes for whom there was no place in the Southern social system.

In spite of the fact that he was never officially received, Mr. Mason was of great service to the Confederacy. Through the newspapers he did much to keep public opinion favorable to the last. In society he was a general favorite and was much sought after. The English people, he said, were just like Virginians. He had able friends in Parliament who carried out his suggestions and who also advised him. The Confederate government relied upon him for advice and assistance in selling bonds and floating loans. Confederate agents were directed by him, he paid the bills of his government, protected his fellow Confederates, and sent supplies to the Confederacy. In this connection it is interesting to note that the great seal of the Confederate States was made in England, was not finished until late in 1864, and could never be used because the supply of wax was lost

on a blockade runner. Another fact brought out in Mason's correspondence to prove the inefficiency of the blockade was this: during the year 1862 the port of Charleston collected larger revenues than in any year previous to the war.

The end came as a surprise to Mason, who had been hopeful to the last. He was now a man without a country. His home had been destroyed early in the war by the Federals and his family dispersed. Finally they went to Canada with numerous other Confederate exiles and there, in 1866, Mason joined them. In 1869 he returned to Virginia and for two years lived quietly in poverty. We hear of him and General Cooper, his brother-in-law, who had been Adjutant General of the United States army and later of the Confederate army, shucking corn for the daily bread, and General Cooper prided himself on the fact that his hands did not blister like Mason's. Not the reverses of fortune, nor disease, but the humiliations of carpet bag reconstruction killed Mason. He died on April 28, 1871, when the condition of the South seemed hopeless.

* * * * *

The memoir by his daughter contains a sketch of his early life and his political career before 1861. Many documents relating to her father are reprinted in full, and in this feature lies the chief value of the book. The diplomatic correspondence is given almost in its entirety, besides a number of hitherto unprinted papers relating to Confederate affairs. It is to be regretted that there are no more of the family letters. Mason wrote regularly to two brothers, a sister and a daughter in Virginia, to a brother in Mississippi and to one in Louisiana, to one son in Texas and to another in Maryland. All of these relatives had their homes destroyed by the Federal army and the family correspondence was lost. Mason's own papers were lost when his home was destroyed. consequently the only ante-bellum correspondence that we

have is that preserved by the Pennsylvania relatives of Mrs. Mason.

To the historian of Confederate diplomacy this compilation is valuable. It would have been more valuable had the printer done his part well. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between quotation and author's text; the same type is used throughout; omissions are not clearly indicated and references uncertain. But the failings of Southern printers are well known. The portrait does not flatter Mason. There is no index, an unpardonable omission from a valuable book.

REVIEWS.

THE AMERICAN COLONIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By Herbert L. Osgood, Ph. D., Professor of History in Columbia University. 2 V., 32+578; 19+490. The Macmillan Co., 1904.

The appearance of these two large volumes marks a distinct epoch in the historical scholarship of this country. They represent the most extensive and accurate research, years of work by the greatest American student of colonial institutions. Not only is this work exhaustive and careful, but in originality of plan and in the field of investigation it is decidedly a pioneer production. It is, to be sure, not designed for the popular reader; its subject matter is too deep and complex and the style of statement is too accurate. But to the student of English colonization, in its political and administrative aspects, and of the origin of our political institutions, this work will at once become a treasure, and, to the mind of reviewer, it will long remain the one great book to which the student must go. In some of its details slight errors will be found, in certain statements modifications will be made, but the work as a whole will endure.

It is the purpose of the author to trace the growth of the British-American colonies as institutions of government and as parts of a great colonial system. The result of his work is the first institutional history of the American colonies as a whole. Within the last few years there have appeared institutional histories of certain individual colonies but none, until this, of the colonies taken together; and most of these works dealing with certain colonies have come from the suggestion of Professor Osgood. Now for the first time has it been made clear that the American institutions of government have their origins in the mother country and that not

only must the colonies themselves be studied but their relations to England also. The two volumes before us deal wholly with the American side. A third volume on the seventeenth century will in a short time follow, in which the English side—the beginnings of imperial administration and control—will be considered. Not only has the author made clear the relations of the colonies to the mother country, but he has also given us original and accurate classifications and discussions of the different types of colonies.

In the present work there are three parts. The first one is devoted to the proprietary province in its early form. The charters of discovery, the experiments of Gilbert and Raleigh, Virginia as a proprietary province under its various charters and experiences, the New England council, and the beginnings of colonization in New England, are all treated in a most exact and comprehensive manner. In part two we find the author at his best. Here we find a masterly consideration of the corporate colonies of New England. Beginning with the transfer of government from England to Massachusetts, Professor Osgood gives us a clear statement and a profound analysis of the executive and judicial system and of the relations of the church and the commonwealth in Massachusetts, also of the workings of the Massachusetts system as seen in the famous struggles of Roger Williams, the Antinomians, the Presbyterians, the Baptists and the Quakers. For the first time is it possible for the reader to see these great controversies in their real and true light. The author's treatment of Plymouth, Connecticut and Rhode Island as corporate colonies, though not so exhaustive as that of Massachusetts, is equally as original and accurate. After these statements and analyses of the corporate colonies in their form and spirit, come discussions of the northward expansion of Massachusetts, of the intercolonial relations, of the territorial, financial and military system of the New England colonies, and of the Indian relations. Perhaps the most

original and valuable of these discussions is that of the territorial system of the corporate colonies.

In part three Professor Osgood has considered the proprietary province in its later forms. The general characteristics of the later forms and the territorial systems of these, the governmental system in Maryland, New Netherlands and proprietary New York, in New Jersey, the Carolinas and Pennsylvania, the judicial, ecclesiastical, financial and military systems in the later proprietary provinces, and the Indian relations, all receive careful treatment. In some of the chapters of this part there is something of incompleteness; in some of these modifications will be made. In details the second volume (Part III) is not equal to the first, but in its plan there is little to change or find fault with. The second volume, though not so accurately done as the first, is very able and valuable. In this are stated in condensed form some interesting and profound observations of the author—the conclusions of his research and thought. In this volume there is the index, the work of Dr. N. D. Mereness, one of the most perfect pieces of work of the kind ever done.

CHARLES LEE RAPER.

THE OPENING OF THE MISSISSIPPI. By Frederick Austin Ogg. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1904. pp. VII—XI + 670, 8vo.

Among the numerous books that the celebration of the centenary of the Louisiana Purchase has called into existence, perhaps the most interesting, certainly one of the most carefully prepared, is this work by Professor Ogg. It shows throughout the scholarly hand and the scientific spirit of the trained historical student. Here is no original contribution to the history of the Mississippi valley, but the reader will find an extremely interesting resumé of its physiographic features and of the diplomatic struggles that marked the occupation of it by the French, the Spaniards, and the

Americans. This work contains fourteen chapters, discussing the exploration and settlement periods, the treaties of transfer, the navigation controversy, and the admission of Louisiana into the Union. All are based upon well chosen monographs, government archives, and other original documents. The author is to be congratulated on his clear and unprejudiced presentation of disputed points. No rash statements appear, and the author has avoided many pitfalls into which a less wary historian of the Mississippi Valley might easily have strayed. It was hardly to be expected, however, that in treating so long a period of American history the author should make no slips; it is to his credit that there are so few. On p. 111 he discusses the earliest use of the name of Louisiana, without noting that Margry has shown that the name was applied to the Upper Mississippi Valley as early as 1679. Page 180, Sauvole, the first governor, seems to be accepted as the brother of Iberville, when further investigation would have convinced the author that Gayarré was mistaken in asserting any such relationship. Page 222, the Ursulines contract is referred to as contained in French's Collection III, p. 79-83, but it should have been noted that this is a mutilated form of the contract, the correct form being found in the *Publications* of the Louisiana Hist. Soc., 1902. P. 337, n., King & Ficklen's *History of Alabama [Louisiana?]* is cited. P. 338 the old Louisiana name Villeré is given as Villieré.

In discussing the Aaron Burr conspiracy the author has followed closely Henry Adams. McCaleb's *Conspiracy of Aaron Burr* is cited among the authorities; but McCaleb's strong counter statement of Adams' position should at least have found place in a note. Finally it seems hardly fair to follow Adams in ridiculing the Republicans of Jefferson's day for their inconsistencies in regard to the purchase of Louisiana, and to mention without comment the same inconsistencies exhibited by the Federalists. "Nothing is more

interesting," Henry Adams is quoted as saying, "than to see the discomfort with which the champions of State rights tossed themselves from one horn to the other of the Federalist dilemma." It was equally interesting to note how Federalists like Josiah Quincy, who denounced the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, were ready to advocate secession when Louisiana was admitted to the Union and to copy those resolutions two years later in the Hartford convention.

However just these criticisms may seem, it is certainly true that Professor Ogg has given us a valuable work, written in a clear, forcible style. Its value is enhanced by a good index, several fair maps, and an excellent bibliography.

JOHN R. FICKLEN.

A JOURNEY IN THE SEABOARD SLAVE STATES. By Frederick Law Olmsted. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904. O., 2 vols., pp. xi+418+iii+412.

This work appeared originally in one volume in 1856 and is made up of letters contributed to the New York *Daily Times* based on trips made through the South in 1853-54, and further improved by the period for reflection elapsing between its appearance in newspaper and book form.

There are chapters devoted to Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana. The author was a close observer; he has much that is sound and sane in discussing the economic life of the South, but the newspaper space writer appears on almost every page. There is an ever present desire to fill space and to do this the most trivial, outlandish and profane interviews with hack drivers, the small talk and ignorance of chance acquaintances and a sickly effort to reproduce negro dialect is indulged in *ad nauseam*. The author dwells on the inconveniences of public travel in all their petty, annoying details and dignifies by putting into his book as essentially and characteristic-

ally Southern, such things as most sensible people are only too glad to banish from memory as soon as the disagreeable occurrence has passed. But such things as these are a part of Mr. Olmsted's stock in trade and are all laid at the door of slavery. While the book is prejudiced and proverbially anti-slavery in tone, there is much by way of sound criticism of the agricultural, educational and general economic systems of the South,—much that is as true to-day as when written fifty years ago. Had Mr. Olmsted left out of his book his numerous railings against means of travel, his senseless and foolish conversations with low down white folks and negroes who seem to have been his principal traveling companions and associates in the South, and published the remaining small portion devoted to economic affairs, he would have relieved students of the task of sifting the proverbial bushel for the grain of wheat.

There is an introduction by Prof. William P. Trent. This introduction is comical if not amusing. While admitting that he is a Southern man himself, he disclaims "any right to speak authoritatively concerning the fidelity of its descriptions." Since he cannot commend the book for its accuracy himself, he calls to his aid an Englishman of the present generation who has perhaps never seen America, certainly at least knows nothing more of the South than a possible glimpse from a car window. Pray what is the dictum of Mr. John Morley worth when it comes to ante-bellum conditions in the South? The quotation from his *Life of Gladstone* can serve no other purpose than to confirm the ignorant and the unthinking and no one is better aware of this than Professor Trent. Again Professor Trent admits, as is apparent to the most casual reader, that Olmsted did not obtain entrance to the homes of the wealthy planters of the South; that he associated mostly with the poorer whites and with negroes and reported their profanity and small talk, then why such an unnecessary fling at De Bow? Pro-

fessor Trent believes that this book had a greater and more permanent effect at the North than either *Uncle Tom's Cabin* or *The Impending Crisis*.

There is a biographical sketch of the author by Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., and a portrait. In general typographical appearance the volumes are all that could be asked. There is what seems to be a very full and valuable index made by D. M. Matteson.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By Waddy Thompson. Octavo, cloth, pp. x+489+xxxvi. Boston: D. C. Heath & Company, 1904.

Of the recent text books in American history this is one of the most promising. It is profusely illustrated and each illustration has a historical value. Neither John Brown nor Guiteau is honored by a portrait. The 36 maps are perhaps the best historical maps that have been placed in a school text, though some of them have a rather cheap appearance. One useful feature is the biographical sketch appended to the portrait of each important historical character. The topical analyses at the end of each chapter are not well made and are of no use. Instead, good summaries might be of value. Fortunately those long and tedious reference lists and bibliographies, so common in the new history books, are omitted, but we should have welcomed a few short lists of books suitable for parallel reading, such as Mrs. Earle's New England books, Mrs. Smede's Southern Planter, and simple biographies. Of 489 pages, colonial history takes up 144; the Revolutionary period fills 62; the Civil War, 69; and after the Civil War, 73. The book is therefore fairly well proportioned. The appendix contains the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

The author is abreast of the latest scholarship; on questions of controversy he has studied the sources; the antiquated anecdotes and hoary traditions are absent. Each sec-

tion of the country receives proper attention and is given due credit. New England and the South, in equal measure, get full justice. The great importance of the West is emphasized. The treatment of States Rights, Nullification, and Secession is the best that I have seen in any school history. Here, as elsewhere, the author aims simply to explain the past, to show things as they were, and not to parade his own opinions, or worse, to apologize. More space than usual is devoted to social and economic topics. A particularly interesting chapter is the one on Life in the Confederacy. No one ought to find fault with the Civil War chapters since they were read in the manuscript and approved by General Boynton of the Federal army and General Gordon of the Confederate. The author carries his desire for strict fairness to such a point that he will not say that Sherman's army deliberately set fire to Columbia, and greater impartiality than this no Southern historian can possibly show. He intimates, however, that they successfully completed the burning. The Reconstruction chapters are written with an understanding of the subject,—the explanation of the "Black Laws" being particularly clear and concise. As a text book there is no better; for the general reader also it will be useful.

WALTER L. FLEMING.
West Virginia University.

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL PAPERS, volume 31, pp. 375, paper, Richmond, Va., 1903; edited by R. A. Brock.

Contents: 1. The Washington light infantry, 1807-1861, deeds of, roster of, and monument to dead of. 10 pp., perhaps reprinted, no sources given.

2. Imboden's dash into Charlestown, by Captain F. M. Berkeley. 8 pp., lively account by a participant in this raid in the fall of 1863.

3. Gordon's Assault on Fort Stedman, by General James

A. Walker. 13 pp., a very authoritative account of this bold conception of Gordon, in spring of 1865, near Petersburg, Va.

4. Battle of Antietam or Sharpsburg, by Captain J. M. Garnett, Alexander Hunter, and Alexander Robert Chisholm. 16 pp., reminiscences of minor officers, one of them the eminent scholar, J. M. Garnett; also a significant letter by Bishop Keiley bearing on a conversation with General Longstreet in 1862 about a letter from McClellan practically proposing peace with Lee.

5. A chapter of history—meeting of General R. Taylor with General E. R. S. Canby. 8 pp., surrender of Taylor in May, 1865, another paper is the marvelous career of the privateer, Jefferson Davis, which left Charleston in 1861 and played havoc for the next few months.

6. Battle of Fort Gregg, by Captain A. L. Jones. 5 pp., by participant, April 2, 1865, gave Lee time to retreat.

7. Battle of Winchester, by Capt. J. M. Garnett. 8 pp., personal experience with documentary material by a captain, also eminent scholar.

8. The Confederate states flag, its evolution, by General W. L. Cabell. 2 pp., nothing new, not comprehensive, but official repetition.

9. Passing of the Monitor Scorpion. 2 pp., built for Confederates in England, 1863, never delivered, taken by English Government, wrecked August, 1903, off Bermuda.

10. First shot in the War, by Major Wade Hampton Gibbes. 7 pp., mass of evidence, none conclusive as to first shot at Charleston.

11. Last Capital of the Confederacy at Danville, Va. 1 pp., in home of W. T. Sutherlin.

12. Robert E. Lee. Speech of Hon. Don P. Halsey in the Senate of Virginia to provide a statue of, to be placed in Statuary Hall, Washington, D. C. 19 pp., admirable in spirit, with extracts from journals and authors on Lee.

13. How the South got Chemicals and Medicines during the War, by Prof. John W. Mallett. 3 pp., mere summary.

14. In a Louisiana regiment, organization of the 13th Louisiana in 1861; vivid picture of the period, by General John McGrath. 18 pp., personal experiences.

15. The Brunswick Guards, Company H, 53d Virginia Infantry, roster of, by George E. Mitchell. 4 pp., some biography also.

16. General John H. Morgan, an account of his death, by Colonel John W. Scully. 4 pp., by eye witness on other side.

17. Closing scenes of the War. Retreat of General Custis Lee's division, and the battle of Sailor's Creek, by Captain McHenry Howard. 16 pp., mostly personal experiences, from memory.

18. Confederate currency, the best collection of, description of all issues of. 6 pp., rather detailed, best collection in North Carolina State House.

19. Biographical sketch of Major-General P. R. Cleburne, by General W. H. Hardee. 13 pp., first printed 1867, with account of almost fatal fight for Cleburne before 1861.

20. Zollicoffer's oak. Recollections of the Battle of Mill Springs and death of General Zollicoffer. His place of Burial, by Colonel Bennett H. Young. 7 pp., January 19, 1862, strong sympathetic tribute to him and his men who lie in neglected spot.

21. New Market day at Virginia Military Institute. Monument to the boy heroes unveiled. Addresses of Dr. John A. Upshur and Captain John S. Wise, and Threnody by A. C. Gordon. 12 pp., battle of New Market in June, 1864, 70 survivors present at unveiling of monument, June 23, 1903.

22. Company C, 37th Virginia Infantry, roster and history of. 4 pp., from memory.

23. Confederate generals and lieutenant-generals passing away, by Rev. J. William Jones, D. D. 3 pp., chiefly controversy about Longstreet at Gettysburg; only four lieuten-

ant-generals living, S. D. Lee, S. B. Buckner, A. P. Stewart, and J. Wheeler.

24. Captain Don P. Halsey, C. S. A. A gallant officer, accomplished scholar, and able lawyer. Sketch of a noble life, by Hon. D. P. Halsey (Jr.). 13 pp., born Sept. 15, 1836, died January 1, 1883, chiefly war service.

25. The sword of Robert Lee, by Father A. J. Ryan. 1 pp., famous poem reprinted.

26. Maryland and the South. The aid of the State to the Confederacy. By Mrs. D. Girard Wright. 6 pp., emotional and personal.

27. Negroes in the Confederate States Army. Their enlistment advocated by General P. R. Cleburne. 13 pp., reprint of original copy, with memory of events by Irvin A. Buck, staff officer; Cleburne turned down.

28. Pickett's charge at Gettysburg; he "in the front," by Captain Robert A. Bright. 8 pp., vivid personal account.

29. Georgia's Flag. Replaced stars and stripes before Sumter was fired on. 1 p., belongs to R. E. Allen, Augusta, Ga.

30. Recollections of Army life with General Lee. Privations and necessities of the Confederate soldier, by Frank H. Foote. 8 pp., very interesting though not new information.

31. Hunter Holmes McGuire, M. D., LL. D. Unveiling a statue of, in the Capitol Square, Richmond, Va., January, 1904. Ceremonies and addresses of Honorables George L. Christian and Holmes Conrad, and acceptance by Governor A. J. Montague. 19 pp., famous Confederate surgeon, born Oct. 11, 1835, died 1900.

32. Burning of Chambersburg, Pa. Noble conduct of Colonel W. E. Peters, by General John McCausland. 4 pp., by the officer in command, but Peters refused to obey as that was not war.

33. Battle of the Crater, July 30, 1864. Roster of mem-

bers of the 12th Virginia Infantry, who were engaged.
4 pp.

34. History of the Crenshaw Battery, with its engagements and roster, by Charles P. Young and Captain Thos. Ellett. 23 pp., served in all important battles under Lee; poem on light artillery.

35. The battle of Shiloh, April 6, 1862, by Captain James Dinkins. 25 pp., chiefly essay on stock sources, nothing new; with satirical poem on General Banks.

36. City 25th Battalion (Richmond), roster of officers of.
3 pp.

37. The first marine torpedoes were made in Richmond, Va., and used in James River, by Col. R. L. Maury. 8 pp., in 1861, from memory, but seemingly reliable.

38. Last Confederate capital at Danville, Va., President Davis confident to the last of triumph, last cabinet meeting and proclamation of, by B. Boisseau Bobbitt. 6 pp., mainly from the writings of Davis.

39. North Carolina and Virginia, in the War 1861-65, and troops furnished by each. Report of History Committee of the Grand Camp C. V. of Virginia, by Hon. George L. Christian. 25 pp., debate as to which did the more, not conclusive either way.

40. The army negro. His affection and fidelity—master and slave congenial, by Captain George Baylor. 4 pp., very pleasant account of several negro servants with their masters in the field.

41. Rank, respectively, in the U. S. and C. S. Armies, and pay of officers and soldiers of the latter. 2 pp.

42. Fort Gregg Again. A defense of its garrison, by Surgeon George W. Richards. 2 pp.

43. The hypodermic syringe first used in the C. S. Army.
1 pp.

44. Index. 2 pp.

Nearly the whole volume is made up of reprints from

newspapers in Richmond, New Orleans, Baltimore, chiefly. Of course the careful student will have to go to these original sources on any critical point, but for the most of work Col. Brock's reprints here will be sufficient, which are all the more valuable as generally the date of paper is given.

NORTHERN REBELLION AND SOUTHERN SECESSION. By E. W. R. Ewing. Cloth, octavo, pp. 383. The Potomac Book Co., Atlanta, 1904.

The title of this work is unfortunate, but there is in the treatise much useful information, and a philosophical setting forth of the Southern point of view on those questions on which Mr. Rhodes has in his first two volumes given the Northern view. In the fifteen chapters are discussed the nature of the Union, State sovereignty, slave legislation by Congress and by the several states and territories, the slave trade, the troubles over the settlement of Kansas, the work of the Underground Railroad, and the attempts to incite slave insurrections.

The ideas of the author and the facts he adduces to support his theories are worthy of note—the more so because other historians have largely neglected the genuine Southern view of the questions in controversy between the sections before the war. It is the belief of the writer that slavery was in a fair way to be driven from the American continent by economic forces when the abolition movement by its violent methods checked this tendency. He shows that from the beginning much of the anti-slavery agitation and legislation was also anti-negro. He makes it clear that Southern whites in the territories were not generally in favor of the institution and shows that the most serious question with the early Southern emancipationists was not that of freeing the negroes, but that of disposing of the freed negroes. As he points out, slavery gradually faded out of the Northern States because of economic reasons; it

was dying in the border Southern States for the same reasons; it died out in the Old Northwest when in spite of the Ordinance of 1787 the institution had existed until found unprofitable; except in the cotton states it was doomed to early extinction. Nature having set limits to the territory of slavery, the author contends that it was absurd and intentionally misleading to rant about the repeal of the Missouri Compromise opening the flood gates of slavery toward the North whence economic forces had already driven it. These natural forces that were working for the destruction of slavery were checked, he maintains, by the abolitionists who demanded immediate emancipation, who refused to abide by the laws of the United States, who instituted a rebellion against the legal government in Kansas, made it a practice to steal slaves from the South, and who endeavored to incite slave insurrections. Southern secession, as he rightly shows, was upon a social question, not a question of political science.

Omitting the argumentative passages, this book has just what Mr. Rhodes' account lacks to some extent—a serious examination of the other side of the case,—and as a supplement to that account it will be of use.

A VIRGINIA GIRL IN THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865. Being a Record of the Actual Experiences of the Wife of a Confederate Officer. Collected and Edited by Myrta Lockett Avery. Cloth, pp. x+384. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1903.

Many years after the war a charming old lady related her war experiences to a friend who wrote them down and, now that the heroine is dead, has given them to the public. And a more interesting book of war recollections it would be hard to find. In clear and simple, almost girlish, language we are told first of the old Virginia social life in Norfolk before the war and of the enthusiasm of the first days

of the Confederacy. Then the Virginia Girl—she was only seventeen—went away to the army with her husband and saw the realities of war—the camp life, the hospitals, marching armies, battles, suffering and death. Her adventures while following the army and while running the blockade to Baltimore for contraband supplies make a thrilling narrative. We get a vivid glimpse of the state of feeling in Baltimore, a Southern city held in the Union by the grip of armies. In the interior of the Confederacy the difficulties in the way of travel across country were so great that we wonder how the Confederate armies were moved and understand why it was that troops might be starving a hundred miles away from plenty. There are several bright anecdotes of Confederate generals. Of the home life of the people but little is said, the Virginia Girl being the greater part of the time with her husband in the army. But the last few months before the end she spent in Richmond in destitution and want, just as all others were. Had the Virginia Girl remained at home and worked, as hundreds of thousands of other women worked, for the Confederate cause, she would have been much more useful, she would have been less in the way of her husband whose business it was to fight, and she might have made him some trousers to replace the non-descripts that we are told he had to wear. But in that case we might not have had this pleasant little book.

WALTER L. FLEMING,
West Virginia University.

WAR SONGS AND POEMS OF THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY, 1861-1865. Collected and Retold with Personal Reminiscences of the War. By H. M. Wharton, D. D. Cloth, crown octavo, pp. 412. Sold by subscription. The John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia, 1904.

This new collection of war Confederate war songs will be welcomed by Southerners—the more since other col-

lections are now out of print. The editor was a private soldier under Gordon and Lee. Nearly all of the well known favorites are found in this compilation, and the music to some of them is given. The authors represented are John R. Thompson, Timrod, Ticknor, Father Ryan, Fontaine, Hayne, Albert Pike, W. G. Simms, Mrs. Preston, James R. Randall and many others who are less known. Quite a number of anonymous poems has been culled from the files of war newspapers. The author's reminiscences fill fifteen or twenty pages and furnish us with some interesting anecdotes of Confederate army life. By no means the least valuable part of the volume is the hundred pages of illustrations of Confederate leaders, monuments, historic houses, etc. There are pictures of Lee, Davis, the Confederate cabinet, and of some of the generals, that have not before been published, and in addition there are *facsimiles* of Confederate documents and reproductions of noted war paintings.

These war poems tell us, as nothing else now can, of the courage and devotion of the Southern soldier in the field and the Southern woman at home, and hence have a distinct value to the historian of the period. A revised and amended edition is to be issued at once under the editorship of James R. Randall, author of "Maryland, My Maryland."

W. L. F.

THE SON OF LIGHT HORSE HARRY. By James Barnes. pp. 243. Harper & Brothers, New York and London, 1904.

This is intended to be a history of Robert E. Lee for the use of children. That the author has written a book of some interest and value cannot be denied, but that he has failed in many ways is most apparent. He has given us the chief points in the life of Lee's ancestors and of the great soldier himself, but these have not been given in such a manner as to make Lee the character and genius that he really was. The Lee of the author is active and intelligent, great and

noble; the real Lee of Virginia, the great commander-in-chief of the armies of the Confederacy, is far more active and intelligent, far greater and nobler. To the mind of the reviewer, the life of Lee is yet to be written, either for children or for men of mature years. And this life can never be separated from that of his times; Lee the man and Lee the military chieftain were to a large extent the product of the Southern civilization of the times before 1860. To know Lee one must know not only Lee as an individual but also the life, the philosophy and idealism of the old South. Our author has searched out the leading facts in the life of Lee the individual, but of the spirit of the forces which surrounded him he takes no recognition; and it is this spirit that is by far the most important element.

CHARLES LEE RAPER.

HISTORY OF THE EXPEDITION UNDER THE COMMAND OF CAPTAINS LEWIS AND CLARK TO THE SOURCES OF THE MISSOURI. With an account of the Louisiana Purchase, by Prof. John Bach McMaster, New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1904. 3 vols., cloth, 4., pp. I. li+35 to 416, II. xv+11 to 410, III. xvii+13 to 382, \$1.00 per vol., net, \$1.08 by mail, 2 ports., maps.

Of the intense interest in the great Northwest aroused by the first publication of this book; of the great amount of attractive and instructive reading furnished by the plain straightforward journals; or, of their great contribution to historical and geographical knowledge and to the natural sciences it is unnecessary to write. The first two are proven by the large number of editions of the work published soon after the return of the expedition and by their republication at this centennial period. The last is equally shown by the care which scholars have given to the work as a whole, the minuteness with which it has been edited and the prepara-

tion now making to issue the journals in an absolutely unabridged form.

The present edition of the Messrs. Barnes is a reprint of the Philadelphia edition of 1814, which bears the name of Paul Allen as editor but which is in reality the work of Nicholas Biddle. To this 1814 edition has been added a ten page article by Professor McMaster on the Louisiana Purchase which in character and extent will in no wise bear out the emphasis given to his name on the title page. There are also a few pages in each volume in which a few of the more important points in the route are identified. In other respects it is simply a reprint of the older edition with all of its imperfections reproduced. There are no page references to the various chapter sections; there are no running head lines; there is no index and to find a particular item the reader must flounder indefinitely. The print is clear and easy on the eyes and the size very agreeable to handle.

THE LAND OF LITTLE RAIN. By Mary Austin. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1904. Sq. O., cloth, pp. xv+281. Many border illustrations by E. Boyd Smith. \$2, net.

Mrs. Austin writes of the Sierras of California. But her title covers a field much more vast than Eastern and Southern California. The land of little rain includes all of Arizona and New Mexico, all of Nevada and Utah and parts of adjoining states as well. But Mrs. Austin writes of things that come within her own vision, of her own experiences and of her own likes and dislikes of the desert. To one who knows it not the desert, naked, glaring with savage rock, unfertilized by water, uncultivated by man, is forbidding and unattractive. To him who knows it at first hand, who has lived in its silences and breathed its ozone laden and health bearing air, who has enjoyed its wonderful and matchless climate, to him it unfolds a new world, it shows

him a charm and depth of beauty undreamed of, for him it speaks a various language; to its deep silence, to its lone and weird attractions, to its perpetual sunshine he will always longingly turn.

It is so with Mrs. Austin. She has caught the spirit of mountain and mesa. She reads the language of its water folk, its wood folk, its flyers and creepers, of bird and beast. She can interpret the dance of the medicine man; she knows the meaning of his retirement into the wickiup; she knows the life and springs of action of the Mexican of the old régime as is clearly shown in the chapter entitled the Little Town of the Grape Vines—*El Pueblo de las Uvas*—and she is at home with the frontiersman, be he rancher or cowboy, trader, pot-hunter or grub-staker. The book is full of ecstasy of praise for the desert, and yet not more praise than its due, not more than will be given it by those who know it best, for "none other than this lone land lays such hold on the affections."

Mrs. Austin has acquired a striking western vocabulary and is well versed in the unwritten life of desert and plain; she draws on the abundant sources of nature, especially zoology and botany, for inspiration and her book is filled with happy descriptions as may be seen in the chapter called "Water Trails of the Ceriso" and in many happy characterizations like that on p. 85, where it is said "the mesquite is God's best thought in all this desertness." The artist, too, has caught finely the spirit of the arid Southwest, the boundless waste of sand, with mountains far and near; the ever present and ever detestable barbed wire fence, an offense to the eye, a menace to man and beast; the carrion crow, alias the stately raven, the coyote, the burro and the Indian all contribute toward making a book of picturesque vividness and wonderful accuracy of detail.

THE INDIANS OF THE PAINTED DESERT REGION. By George Wharton James. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1904. O. pp. xxi+268, with 66 illustrations from photographs. Cloth, \$2.00 net.

The Painted Desert Region—*el pintado desierto* as the Spanish conquistadors named it from the wonderful display of colors to be seen on this marvellous palette of God's own making when he started out to paint the rainbow and give colors to the flowers—is itself a boundless region. The author confesses that its bounds are unknown to him, the Spaniards never attempted to bound it; "and no one since has had the temerity to do so." The conditions of color and barrenness that first suggested the name exist over a wide area. They include Southern Nevada and Utah, South-western Colorado, a large part of New Mexico, all of Arizona and stretch away indefinitely south into Old Mexico. Indeed as the author truly says if one Painted Desert were to be staked off in any one of these states ten others equally as large could be found in the remaining ones.

It is within the wide confines of this wild, lone land, naked and desert, savage and bare, stricken by the fierce heat of summer and in parts by the piercing cold of winter, the land of smothering sand storms and howling tempests, the land of little rain where the falling of an inch of water in February or March means life and health to thousands of roaming cattle or its absence starvation and death to the cattle and financial ruin to their owners, a land of sharp contrasts in nature and among men, a land that throbs and thrills and glows with a subtle, indefinable, indescribable charm, a land that fills the soul with ecstasy and grows upon the imagination as no other land can do—a land moreover and best of all which is God's own sanitarium for the healing of the nations—within this ill-defined and unbounded waste of mountain and valley, cañon and mesa, sand and rock live numerous tribes of Indians, many of

them in former days nomads living by rapine and plunder, but now thanks to the strong arm of government—and if the Indian has learned nothing else he has learned thoroughly and well, respect for authority—settling down to the prosaic and unpicturesque lives of farmers and herdsmen. On the eastern borders live the Pueblos, to the south, the Apaches, Papagos, Pimas, Yumas and Mojaves, to the north the Utes and Shoshones. Within the territory bounded by the above tribes, live the Hopis, Navajoes, Wallapais and Havasupais and it is to these four that Mr. James devotes his book.

Mr. James has spent many years among the Indians in that region, and hence writes of them with the intimate knowledge that comes of long acquaintance. Nearly half of his book is devoted to the Hopis, the western kinsmen of the Pueblos, sedentary and agricultural, who have occupied for centuries the First, Second and Third Mesas and who were among the first of these people to come in contact with the Spaniards. They are celebrated in the East for their annual snake dances, a religious ceremony, a prayer for rain, that is described at much length in the present volume. The Wallapais and Havasupais are also an agricultural people, while the Navajoes have been brought up to the nomadic shepherd stage. The book is full of the religious rites and social life of these people. The author writes with an enthusiastic admiration which would put most white people to blush in comparison and which is not always borne out by the actual experience and observation of those readers who have seen the real Indian in his native habitat and have worked with him for years. Nor is this roseate view indulged in by pioneers, settlers and residents who see and know all phases of Indian life. Cooper set the pace for Indian pictures in the East. He made them all strong, well developed, broad chested and “straight as an arrow,” they never forgot a favor or forgave an injury and were never

sensitive to pain. This picture has passed, thanks to first hand knowledge. We know that the Indian more often than otherwise has no physical development to boast of, that he easily becomes the victim of disease and dies where the white man lives; he becomes bent and decrepit; he has lost his stoicism against pain and like the negro he has little sense of personal respect, gratitude or resentment. Neither can we accept the doctrine of James that Indians generally, or even a considerable per cent. are industrious in the white man's sense, ambitious, intelligent or moral.

JAPAN TO-DAY. By James A. B. Scherer, Ph. D. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1904. D. pp. 323, 28 ills. from photographs.

Japan To-day is written by a man who has been a part of the things of which he writes. It is a book of criticism and estimates of Japan and things Japanese, a book of impressions and yet authoritative for Dr. Scherer, now president of Newberry College, S. C., was for five years a teacher in the government school at Saga and as such came into contact with the masses as well as the classes in Japanese life. He not only saw them in the schools where Young Japan goes to learn western civilization, but saw them at work, in their shops and in their homes.

One of the most interesting observations to western students is the fact noted in the chapter on Buddhist sermons that the signs are becoming more and more abundant that Christianity is not only exercising a widening influence on the people, but that it is beginning to pervade and transform the pagan religions themselves. In the Japanese character itself he finds much that is wanting from an occidental point of view, absence of morality, lack of belief in personal identity which perhaps largely accounts for their reckless bravery in the present war, their utter lack of humanity and sympathy, their indifference to time—*tadai* correspond-

ing to the ever present *manana* of the Mexican—and their lack of business honor. In fact “the only device by which the Japanese may be called in any sense consistent is to say that they are consistently inconsistent.” Yet they have many good qualities, economy, politeness, hospitality, industry, patriotism, ambition.

In the great struggle now on in the East Dr. Scherer gives strong reasons for thinking that Japan will win; he believes that she is fighting the battle of western civilization, of Saxon against Slav, and is an advocate of the dismemberment of China. He contrasts the Chinese and Japanese to the discredit of the latter and from his own study believes the Ainus of the north superior to their conquerors.

The book is a valuable contribution to the yellow problem by one who gets his impressions from experience, who approaches his subject with fair-mindedness and who sets down naught in malice.

THE THOUGHTLESS THOUGHTS OF CARISABEL. By Isa Carrington Cabell. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1903. D. pp. viii+345. Cloth, \$1.25, net.

This volume of essays is characterized by the author as “the unfashionable and passé opinions of a survivor of a past age.” The publisher admits that the book is due to his instigation. The essays themselves are supposed to be genial satires on things in general, including the new man, the new child, servants, and many others. The satire is general, vague and veiled so much so that at times it is hard to see the point at which the author is aiming. It is presumed from the essay that “the new man” is one who stays at home while his wife is the breadwinner and member of clubs; “the new child” is a vigorous hit at the new education, psychology, apperception, concepts and all that; from “Should Women Propose” we conclude that the author favors that well established custom, while in “Do men pro-

pose" the views of the author are skilfully veiled by many quotations from literary creations. A broad acquaintance with light literature is shown but the book is as dull and insipid as the society to which it so frequently turns.

THE ROMANCE OF PISCATOR. By Henry Wysham Lanier. Pp. 337. Henry Holt & Co., N. Y., 1904.

Of mediocre novels and stories there is no end; the world is flooded with books of this character. Some of these are more or less interesting, while others will not repay the time spent in their perusal. This little volume, while very light, is of some interest. While interesting to a degree, still the lack of strength is not apparent. The theme has in it so much more than the author has made use of, so much more than he has brought to light, that the reader is sorely disappointed. As the title suggests, the hero is a young fisherman. The story tells of his experiences, though none of these are very thrilling, both as a fisherman and as a lover of a certain young woman. As a fisherman his success is marked from the first; as a lover he has many trials and tribulations, but in the end he obtains his prize and reward.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF SOUTH CAROLINA, No. II, 1904, pp. 47, paper, Charleston, S. C.

Happily more than a third of this number is given to original material in the publication of the wills, with translation, of South Carolina Huguenots. The remainder of the issue is given up to the report of the annual meeting on April 13 last, a brief memorial to Francis Marion, and essay on South Carolina Huguenots, and constitution and by-laws of the Society, with an index. The most important step taken by the organization is the determination to mark the sites of decayed Huguenot churches in South Carolina. The membership is two hundred sixty-four, a decline from pre-

vious year although twenty-seven new members were recorded during the year. The loss is really only apparent as the officers heroically took the sensible business method of cutting off worthless dead heads with which nearly all learned organizations are cursed. Great knowledge often has a dull moral sense in financial matters, and the management of this society is to be warmly congratulated for bravely applying the knife to useless appendages.

Maynard Merrill & Co., of New York, have issued as No. 241 of their English Classic Series a booklet on *The Southern Poets*, edited by J. W. Abernethy, principal of the Berkeley Institute of Brooklyn. Lanier, Timrod and Hayne are taken as the representative poets; a few selections from each are given, with literary estimate and appreciation, original and quoted. There are a few notes and a two-page bibliography which indicates a rather shallow acquaintance with the steadily increasing literature of a subject which is attracting more and more of general interest. During the recent weeks the newspapers have been full of the saying that the South was coming into her own again politically. In pure literature her poets are commanding an attention which has never been given them before. (S. pp. 78, paper, mailing price 12 cents.)

The second annual *Report* of the Hon. Dunbar Rowland, director of the Department of Archives and History of Mississippi for the year ending Oct. 1, 1903, is an excellent presentation of what has been done in that State towards the official encouragement of history and is an earnest of what may be hoped for and expected in the future. The *Report* naturally has much to say on the coming publication by the U. S. Government of the Confederate Rosters of Mississippi and a list of such rosters now in the care of the State is printed. There is presented also a list of historical

portraits of public men recently acquired; a summary of the official journals of the various Governors, and many suggestions and outlines of future work for the Department, including an official and statistical *Register* and extended investigations for the history of the State in the archives of England, France and Spain. But with all this enthusiasm for manuscript sources the printed history is still treated officially with only contumely and neglect, for there are outside of official publications of the State "not over twenty books devoted to Mississippi matters in the State Library" (Nashville: 1904. O. pp. 61). Mr. Rowland has also recently published *A Mississippi View of Race Relations in the South* (Jackson, Miss., 1903. O. pp. 21).

In his *Trans-Isthmian Canal* Prof. C. H. Huberich, of the University of Texas, gives a scientific summary of treaties and diplomatic steps, with illustrations of public opinion, in our efforts towards building a canal across the narrow neck connecting the two Americas. He treats the subject from 1825 to 1904, basing his work largely on documentary material and other original sources. (Austin, Texas, pp. 31, boards.)

Perhaps another illustration of the connection between higher education and the racial suicide theory is *The Spermatogenesis of Anax Junius* by a woman, Caroline McGill, fellow in Zoology (volume 2, No. 5, July, 1904, University of Missouri Studies, pp. 15, with numerous illustrations, paper, 75 cts.). The paper is got up in the most approved form and is strewn with scientific terms, but how many men would like to marry a woman of so much zoological attainment?

Prof. W. L. Fleming of West Virginia University has issued a double number, four and five, of his reconstruction

documents with appropriate editing. He has four papers: public frauds in S. C., constitution of the Council of Safety (of S. C., 1870), local Ku Klux constitution (also of S. C.), and the '76 Association (in La., similar to Ku Klux). The first one consists of extracts from an investigation made by the state government after 1876.

Mrs. Jeannette Robinson Murphy, 361 West 55th street, New York City, has published an interesting folio entitled "Southern Thoughts for Northern Thinkers, and African Music in America." It contains several lectures or readings on the negro, some stories and anecdotes in negro dialect, two striking essays on negro music, and twenty-five or thirty slave "spirituals." The price of the book is \$1.25 and it may be obtained from the author at the above address. It is well worth the price.

The *Sunday News* of Charleston, S. C., during the past summer, had a series of papers on the Gourdin family of that city. This was one of the families very active in social life there, and we have not so much a genealogy as a very interesting account of happenings during the early part of the nineteenth century.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE QUARTERLY, July, 1904, Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp. 72, \$3.00 yearly, \$1.00 singly, Williamsburg, Va.

Contents: 1. Correspondence of President John Tyler: Letter on religious freedom. 2 pp., of July 10, 1843, that the government had nothing to do with religion. Previously published by the American Jewish Historical Society.

2. Virginia Gazette (1752) Extracts from. (Continued.) 13 pp., chiefly advertisements of land and slaves.

3. Journal of the meetings of the President and masters of William and Mary College. (Continued.) 7 pp., of 1768-1769, administrative details, management of students even to ordering one to be whipped; from archives.

4. Marriage bonds at Oxford, Granville Co., N. C. 2 pp., the two decades before Revolution, official records.

5. Family records of the McAdam and Broun families of Northumberland Co., Va. 3 pp., from family Bibles, by Thos. L. Broun.

6. Will books at Annapolis. 1 pp., seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, abstracts.

7. Revolutionary soldiers of Berkeley Co., W. Va. 8 pp., official records bearing chiefly on commissions, pensions, and claims.

8. Meade family history by David Meade. (Continued.) 8 pp., chiefly biography of Andrew and David. No authorities given.

9. Diary of Col. Landon Carter. (Continued.) 8 pp., 1770-1771 daily events and planting matters, social life. Very interesting; history of manuscript.

10. Journal of Cuthbert Powell. (Continued.) 11 pp.,

1796-1801, ocean voyage, social life, reflections on choice of career.

11. The Old Capitol—memorial tablet unveiled at. 2 pp., May 26, 1904, chiefly names of members of the House of Burgesses inscribed on the monument.

12. Bible records of the Throckmorton and Phillips Families. 1 pp., chiefly from 1750 to 1850.

13. Jameson—Ellegood, Parker. 3 pp., genealogical data.

14. Chisman Bible records. 1 p., some twenty names chiefly of eighteenth century.

15. Queries, one page.

16. Book notices. 1 p.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL MAGAZINE, July, 1904, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 125-196, \$3.00 yearly, 75 cts. singly, Charleston, S. C.

Contents: 1. Letters of Hon. Henry Laurens to his son John. (Continued.) 19 pp., four letters, fatherly advice, refers to "this cloud of Civil War," some public news and war matters.

2. Records of the Regiments of the S. C. Line, Continental establishment. (Continued). 17 pp., pay rolls by companies.

3. South Carolina Gleanings in England. (Continued.) 7 pp., will abstracts.

4. The Hayne Family, by Theodore D. Jervey. 21 pp., John Hayne, the founder, came over in 1700, down to present, includes such famous members as Isaac and the poet. Scientific with many references.

5. Historical notes. 4 pp., mostly reprints of rare material.

6. Necrology. 2 pp., Charles Henry Simonton, born July 11, 1829, died April 25, 1904, many exact dates and facts

THE WEST VIRGINIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, July, 1904, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 185-255, \$1.00 yearly, 25 cts. singly, Charleston, W. Va.

Contents: 1. Adam Miller, by W. S. Laidley. 4 pp., that Miller was not the first settler in the Shenandoah Valley. Not the judicial tone for ending a controversy.

2. The Clendinens, by Mrs. Delia A. McCulloch. 8 pp., starts with traditional 3 brothers, based on such definite statements as "history tells us." Not in genealogical scientific form.

3. Major William Clendinen, by Mrs. Delia A. McCulloch. 5 pp., born May 23, 1753, died Sept., 1828, many events given, exact dates, some records as bible and journal.

4. John Ewing, by A. A. Ewing. 10 pp., born Dec. 25, 1747, died Dec. 23, 1824, Virginia pioneer, mostly his early experience with the Indians. Sources not given, presumably from tradition, but most thrilling narrative.

5. Col. Thomas Bullitt, by W. S. Laidley. 5 pp., born 1730, died 1778, pioneer and surveyor, map, based largely on documents.

6. A Dunmore patent of 1773, by Mrs. A. I. Ryan. 2 pp., original documents from manuscript belonging to the society.

7. Edward Hughes, by William Hansford. 4 pp., incidents and character of this pioneer. From memory, no dates given, but editorial notes supply some facts about will, descendants, and land.

8. Jan Joosten Van Meteren, by S. Gordon Smythe. 7 pp., events from legal records and other original sources of this Virginia pioneer from the Dutch settlement of New Jersey.

9. Major William Haymond, by Henry Haymond, Esq. 9 pp., born January 4, 1740, died Nov. 12, 1821, Virginia pioneers part original sources, part statements without authority.

10. *Guerrilla Warfare in 1862*, by Rev. W. T. Price. 9 pp., personal narrative but not by participant. Very entertaining.

11. *Fincastle*, by R. A. Fast. 1p., place named in honor of Dunmore who was Viscount Fincastle, but erased by legislature.

12. *Publications of Southern History Association*, by W. S. Laidley. 2 pp., caustic notice of some of the reviews.

13. *Editorial Departments*. 3 pp.

THE SEWANEE REVIEW, July, 1904, Vol. XII, No. 3, pp. 257-384, \$2.00 yearly, 50 cts. singly, Sewanee, Tenn.

Contents: 1. *The Plantation as a Civilizing Factor*, by Ulrich Bonnell Philips. 11 pp., historical sketch of Spanish and English methods in America; believes large farms will replace small ones in South. Sensible, balanced paper.

2. *What Becomes of Our Trade Balances?* (second paper). by W. H. Allen. 29 pp., much good stuff, but very poorly digested.

3. *Catullus*, by R. B. Steele. 16 pp., essay only on the life and works of this Latin poet of the last century B. C.

4. *Wordsworth*, by M. Herndon Moore. 12 pp., very sympathetic appreciation of his poems with many illustrative extracts.

5. *The Place of Athletics in Education*, by William P. Few. 14 pp., argues for three tests, amateurs, scholarship, one year residence; merely general statements.

6. *The Political Crisis in England*, by Edwin Maxey. 5 pp., that England has lost prestige everywhere, present rulers failures, must reconstruct Africa and regain standing in Asia. Very sophomoric.

7. *Two Dramas*, by G. B. Rose. 8 pp., an Italian, Gabriele D'Annunzio, with short analysis of a late play, his prose "The most exquisite that the Italian language has ever known;" Professor W. V. Moody, who writes "the

greatest poem ever produced in America," his "masque of judgment." Extravagant language.

8. *A New Star*, by William Norman Guthrie. 7 pp., Martin Schutze, a volume of sonnets and love poems with some nature ones. Review half ironical.

9. *American and German University Ideals*, by Baron Speck Von Sternburg. 6 pp., that American ideas are essentially German.

10. Reviews. 8 pp.

11. Notes. 7 pp.

THE METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1904, Vol. LIII, No. 3, pp. 428-624, \$2.00 yearly, 50 cts. singly, Nashville, Tenn.

Contents: 1. *McTyeire as an Editor*, by Bishop O. P. Fitzgerald. 5 pp., very interesting characterization of this great polemical Bishop.

2. *God's Gift of Dreams*, by Hugh A. C. Walker. 1 p., solemn poem of two stanzas.

3. *Reminiscences of Cokesbury Manual Labor School*, by a student of 1837. 17 pp., the famous Bishop H. N. McTyeire gives most interesting incidents chiefly personal and religious, scarcely anything on the peculiar educational feature; written in 1859.

4. *The theology of St. John*, by the Rev. T. H. Lipscomb, B. D., of the North Mississippi Conference. 23 pp., popular discussion of St. John's teaching concerning God, Christ, Salvation, Holy Spirit, and future life. Religious not critical tone.

5. *Thomas Carlyle as a Religious Teacher*, by the Rev. E. H. Rawlings, B. D., of the Virginia Conference. 14 pp., a general characterization almost nothing on his religion as Carlyle had none. A very readable essay.

6. *Porfirio Diaz and the Mexican Republic*, by George D. Winton, D. D., editor of the *Christian Advocate*. 11 pp.,

historical sketch giving great credit to Diaz, hopeful of outlook even after his death.

7. *Southern Literature of the Future*, by the Rev. J. M. Hawley. 11 pp., mostly historical, praises average man, fears commercialism and sensationalism.

8. *The South and the Negro*, by Bishop Charles B. Galloway, D. D., LL. D. 12 pp., comprehensive view, warmest advocacy of education for the black; address before the Southern Educational Conference at Birmingham, Ala., April 26, 1904, also printed by Southern Education Board.

9. *The Hammurabi Code and Hebrew Legislation*, by James Henry Stevenson, B. D. Ph. D., professor of Hebrew in Vanderbilt University. 13 pp., very capable summary comparison.

10. *Birds in Their Relation to Man*, by the Rev. L. R. Amis, of the Tennessee Conference. 9 pp., review essay on book by Weed and Dearborn.

11. *The Religious Precinct*, by Charles Gray Shaw, Ph. D., professor in New York University. 14 pp., attempt to bound the realm of religion in modern life. Not definite in conception.

12. *Ethical Culture and Religion*, by the Rev. John C. Granberry, Jr., B. D., of the Virginia Conference. 6 pp., pointing out the good in the movement by Felix Adler and his school.

13. *Editorial Departments*. 70 pp., contain strong condensed sketch of Edwin Arnold, besides the usual book reviews and missionary notes.

CONFEDERATE VETERAN, July, 1904, Vol. XII, No. 7, pp. 323-360, \$1.00 yearly, 10 cts. singly, Nashville, Tenn.

Naturally a good deal of this number is given up to the reunion held in Nashville. June 14-16, much of it being reprinted matter, with the address on General Gordon by Judge T. G. Jones. L. F. Garrard describes the part of Gen.

S. D. Lee in checking the rout of the Confederates after their disastrous defeat in the battles around Nashville in 1864. The surplus from the fund contributed for the reunion at Nashville is to be turned over to the *Confederate Veteran* as subscriptions for the magazine to be sent to old Confederate soldiers. Although the periodical has a large circulation the editor with great generosity of soul allows thousands of dead heads, another painful piece of evidence of indifference through the south to intellectual food when they have to pay for it, very sad but very true.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, July, 1904. Contents: The Rehabilitation of Theramenes, (Greek statesman and patriot of the 5th and 4th centuries, B. C.); Cornage (fees paid the bishop for the agistment of cattle in mediaeval England) and Drengage (a form of tenure), by G. T. Lapsley; Reginald Pole and Thomas Cromwell, an Examination of the Apologia ad Carolum Quintum, by Paul Van Dyke; The Navigation Acts as applied to European Trade, by D. O. McGovney. Documents: Sketch of Pinckney's plan for a constitution, 1787, from the original found among the James Wilson manuscripts, with extracts from the plan and from Pinckney's *Observations* printed in parallel columns; further papers on Wilkinson's relations with Spain, including the decision of the Council of State on his first memorial, his second memorial and a list of influential persons whom he was to buy for Spain; two letters from George Farragut (father of the Admiral) to Andrew Jackson; book reviews, notes, index.

The July and August installments of Dr. S. Weir Mitchell's Autobiography of Washington in *The Century* conduct him through the first clash with the French on the Ohio and his surrender of Ft. Necessity. The fiction of autobiographical reminiscence is splendidly maintained.

NOTES AND NEWS.

VALUABLE TESTIMONY ON THE NEGRO QUESTION.—Of late years there has hardly been a more important contribution to this mighty matter than the utterances during the past summer of the Hon. D. H. Chamberlain, at present of Massachusetts. Mr. Chamberlain was born and educated in New England, commanded a negro regiment during the Civil War and was afterwards in politics in South Carolina, finally becoming Governor of that State for two years, from 1874 to 1876. Being defeated then for re-election he returned to his former home and has been very successful in the practice of law. He was recognized even by his opponents during the bitterest political campaigns ever waged in this country as a man of high personal character, of learning and great ability. Now, in his old age, with ripened experience and broad reflection, he delivers his views on this tragic race problem. Substantially he endorses the general opinion prevailing through the South, urging practically that the people of that locality, in the midst of the trouble, are the ones best fitted to decide on the course of action. It is really disheartening that it seems necessary to point out that the best judges of any question are the ones who know both the practical and theoretical sides. Notwithstanding this plain common sense truism, Mr. Chamberlain has been harshly criticised by those who have only an academic acquaintance with the subject, the poorest in the world unless moderated by a saving sense of modesty. Mr. Chamberlain's most important letter is found in the *Charleston News and Courier* of Aug. 1.

ANDREW JACKSON'S BIRTHPLACE.—This long disputed historical point seems certainly settled by A. S. Salley, Jr.,

in the *Charleston News* of July 31 last. He gives the most comprehensive, scientific treatment of the matter in existence and reaches the positive conclusion that Jackson was a native of South Carolina though born near the North Carolina line. He goes back to the original sources, quoting from Jackson and his early biographers and also using official records. Notwithstanding this thorough investigation, which is a little sarcastic in places, we shall still hear from careless people the old claim that Jackson first saw the light of day in North Carolina. It is not of great importance one way or the other in itself but it is of transcendent value as training in methods of accuracy.

GULF OF MEXICO CARTOGRAPHY.—A paper on this subject will be read in St. Louis by Mr. William Beer, librarian of the Howard Memorial Library of New Orleans. Mr. Beer lent a very full collection of maps of that region as a part of the Louisiana exhibit at the St. Louis Exposition. The list numbers nearly two hundred, going back as far as 1492.

WASHINGTON'S CAPTOR.—Mr. William Beer, Librarian of the Howard Memorial Library of New Orleans, has lately published, from an old portrait, a likeness of Francois Coulon de Villiers who had the great honor of receiving the surrender of Washington at Fort Necessity. After other military service, he spent his last years in Louisiana, dying there in 1803 at the age of 91.

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